

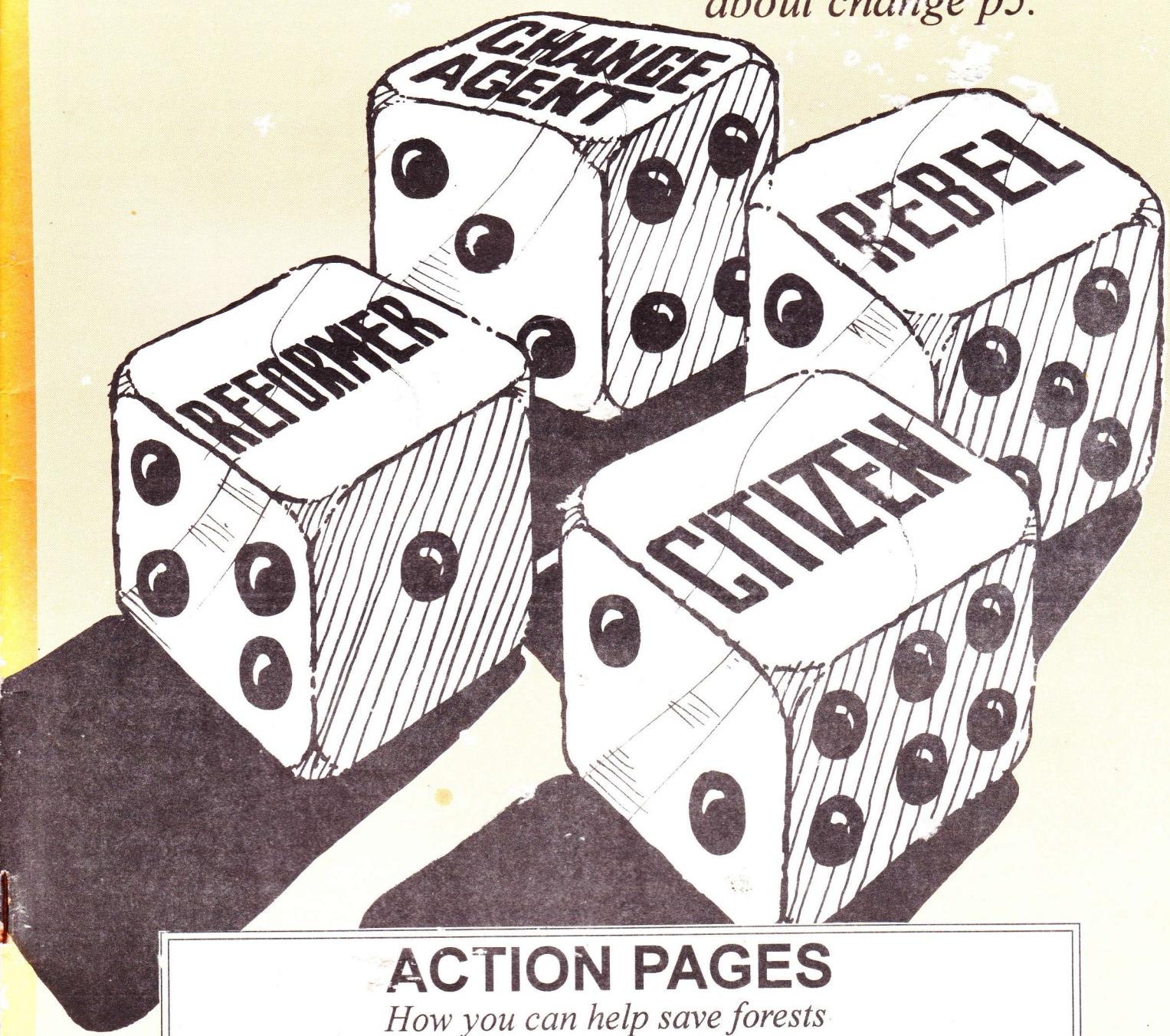
No. 29

World RAINFOREST REPORT

SEPTEMBER 1994

Playing to Win

*Bill Moyer on how
your group can bring
about change p5.*



ACTION PAGES

How you can help save forests

Rainforest News from Around the World

Editorial

All of us, except maybe cockroaches, are threatened by the looming ecological crisis. To avert the crisis, industrialised humans need to change their basic values. Deep Ecology owes its popularity to this realisation. It blames our predicament on human-centredness and the way humans have isolated themselves from the Things That Matter - all the other species on the planet.

However:

That's not the whole story. Here's why: The social structures which allow the greedy to profit from the needy must be changed. It has been pointed out that "deforestation is an expression of social injustice" *.

With this in mind, this issue of WRR summarises the first part of Bill Moyer's paper, *The Practical Strategist*, which deals with how social movements can win their struggles with power holders (p.5). Part 2 of the paper will be summarised in the next WRR.

* * *

This edition of WRR includes for the first time the ***ACTION PAGES*** which bring together in one section the ways in which you can be part of campaigns to protect forests around the world (p15). This will be a regular section in future WRRs.

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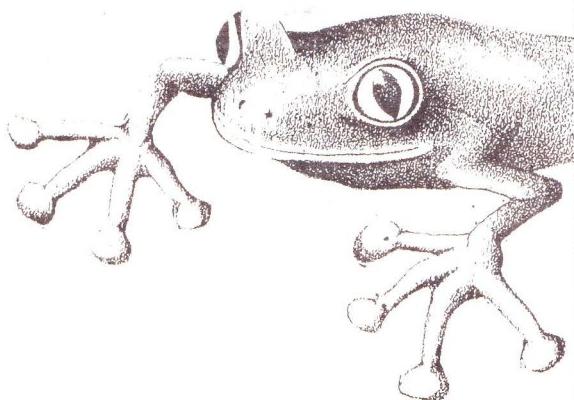
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PLUS: Education Supplement no.3

The Causes of Rainforest Destruction

* *The Struggle for Land and the Fate of the Forests*, Colchester & Lohmann, 1994, Zed Books.



Protesters atop a crane on the *Tamdhу*

Wide Media Coverage of Ship Action Despite Lack of Violence

An action protesting the importation of non-sustainably produced tropical timber received wide media attention despite the absence of violence and only five arrests. On Tuesday August 23, at least 60 activists boarded the *Tamdhу*, a ship loaded with plywood from Indonesia. They carried banners and placards and delayed the unloading of the ship at Hamilton Wharves in Brisbane for over three hours.

Over 50 police eventually arrived with a special tactical response unit and escorted the protesters off the ship. Four women and one man were arrested on charges of vagrancy and obstruction. All five major TV Channels covered the event, as did most major radio stations. Brisbane's *Courier Mail* gave an accurate and relatively positive account of the action. The mood of the protest was completely non-violent and uplifting. Protesters from 18 to 50 were involved.

The consumption of unsustainably produced tropical timber is one of the main driving forces behind the destruction of tropical forests.

Source: Rainforest Information Centre, Gold Coast

Rainforest Logging Ends in Queensland

In 1989, the State Labor Party promised to stop all rainforest logging in the Queensland. Following protracted lobbying by the Rainforest Conservation Society and other conservation groups, the State Government is now belatedly honouring that pledge by stopping rainforest logging in the Mackay-Proserpine area on the central Queensland coast. This means that all rainforest logging on Crown Land in Queensland has ended.

Source: Rainforest Conservation Society, Brisbane.

Note: However, two-thirds of the lowland rainforests between Daintree and Cape Tribulation in far-north Queensland are not part of the Wet Tropics World Heritage area and are still open to clearcutting. Part of the area has been divided into 1100 lots for housing and other development. The development area includes much of the habitat of the region's last 54 cassowaries.

Please write to: Paul Keating, Prime Minister, Parl. House, Canberra 2600 and The Hon. Ron Gibbs MLA, Qld Minister for Tourism, GPO Box 354, Brisbane 4001, promising to boycott tourism in Queensland if protection is not imposed.

Enquiries: Daintree Rainforest Task Force, RMB 26, Mossman, Qld. 4873.
Fax: 070 976727

WA's First Ever Forest Blockade

In July 1994, hundreds of West Australians took to the forests for the state's first ever forest blockade. Opposition centred on the Pemberton region as part of a month long strategy to draw national attention to the plight of the forests in danger of being logged into oblivion.

by Adrian Stevens

The Forests at Risk

In the south-west corner of Western Australia (WA) lie world's last 125 000 ha of ancient karri and marri forests. Each year 2 000 ha are clearfelled for woodchipping, to end up as disposable packaging and instant chopsticks in other lands. This clearfelling of forests often occurs in interim listed areas of the Australian Heritage Commission's Register of the National Estate. Despite moratorium provisions in the inter-governmental National Forest Policy Statement, the WA government is promoting this nightmarish "development". Pressure is on the federal government to refuse export licenses.

The protest was organised within two months, and began with a two day forest festival at the base camp site near Giblett forest.

The day before, big timber companies and the so-called 'Forest Protection Society' organised a Pemberton march and rally in opposition to the environmentalists. In fact, forest blockaders and the media soon confirmed that local sympathy was divided between loggers (afraid of losing their jobs in an ever-shrinking occupation), and supporters of the growing tourist industry which relies on intact forests to attract regional and interstate tourism to the South-West.

Native forest woodchipping consumes 85% of the wood taken from the karri and marri forests every year. (Most of this is from wholelogs from old growth and wilderness forests considered by the loggers as 'low grade or defective'.) Yet this destruction for woodchips employs only 2.5% of workers in the industry.

Throughout the debate, the WA government and its Dept. of Conservation and Land Management have avoided economic, environmental or

social accountability for their logging program. "Economic rationalism" appears to be a posture, aimed at attracting overseas money.

The industry is structured so that, as in other Australian forests, public sector subsidies help companies sell wood-chipped native logs to Japan for less than Japan's recycled products. As always, the true economic price of logging in native forests is ignored, failing to include costs such as: nutrient loss in soils due to the removal of trees and undergrowth; compaction from heavy machinery; destruction of deep rooted trees, especially jarrah; increased sediment in streams; and eutrophication of coastal estuaries and inlets due to the use of fertilisers in silviculture.

Subsidies help woodchips undercut Japan's recycled products

The spoiling of WA's precious and few rivers has already been documented over the summer of 93-94. Continued logging will only exacerbate the problem.

There is an economically rational solution: plantations. In WA alone there are 38 200 ha of hardwood and 88 600 ha of softwood plantations. These plantations produce a better quality woodchip at a cheaper true price. Why not log these? Perhaps the powers-that-be appreciate community sympathy for the forests, and hope to log native forests while they still can. Such a cynical forest-grab steals from the future, denying generations to come the opportunity to experience the beauty and stillness of the forest. Such callous disregard also arrogantly elevates human beings above other species and life processes, an anthropocentrism that lacks humility, vision or a sense of connectedness with the planet.

Achievements of the Blockade

Throughout July, logging stalled because of the blockade. Protestors also engaged in a unique program of "listening posts" in nearby towns, focussing on listening to community concerns and deepening understanding of the needs of people in the region. True to non-violent principles, close contact was maintained with the police during most of the month. Hundreds of people were trained and retrained in nonviolent methods. National awareness was temporarily generated through the media.

The Future

The blockade ended with 13 people being arrested at the Manjimup Diamond Chip Mill when they prevented the loading of a woodchip train for 18 hours. It appears that tactical response police may have been brought in to make these arrests, contrary to agreements and understandings with protesters, indicating an increasing political intrusion.

A huge amount was learned in this first stage of the Forest Rescue, as the blockade has been now renamed. Environmentalists expect to return to the forests in late September, renewed and revitalised by planning and evaluation meetings held throughout the South West and Perth in August and subsequently.

At the same time, the State Government with its economic day dreaming may choose to resort to harsher legal tactics against the protestors, wrongly believing that those who oppose the irrational logging policies are a deadlocked minority. Such a misreading of community support could ultimately damage the Liberal Government, but not before a far worse and irreversible catastrophe was done to the state's native forests.

Adrian Stevens is a former campaigner with the Australian Conservation Foundation.

PLAYING TO WIN

MAPs for Social Movements

"There are strategic models and step-by-step, how-to-do-it manuals for almost every human task", says Bill Moyer, "except that of understanding and waging social movements". The Movement Action Plan addresses this problem. The Movement Action Plan (MAP) is an evolving set of strategic models and methods that helps activists to believe in their own political power and to better understand, evaluate, plan and conduct social movements.

by Bill Moyer

Rooted in grass-roots "people power", non-violent social movements have played a central role throughout history in achieving positive social change. Faced with the possibility of increasing devastation and suffering, ordinary people must now effectively address the issues of the 1990's. There are more activists and movements today than ever, but many activists are prone to repeat the mistakes that have curtailed the effectiveness of past movements. Even effective movements have fallen far short of their potential power and effectiveness. One of the chief limitations of the effectiveness of activists and their movements has been the lack of appropriate strategic analytical theories and methods.

Strategic models are needed to:

- * Help activists better understand, plan, analyse, evaluate and conduct social movements.
- * Recognise and take credit for movement successes.

The Two Barriers to a Movement's Success:

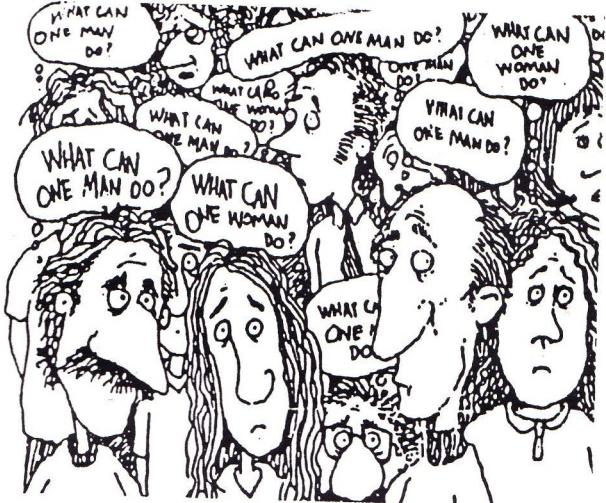
(This article addresses two key barriers that inhibit activists' effectiveness)

1. Inadequate Strategy: Activists do not have models and methods that describe the road of movement-success and help them evaluate, plan and conduct movements.

2. Inadequate Empowerment: Many activists irrationally believe that they are powerless and their movement is failing, and thus create a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Despite a long history of successful social movements, most activists believe in and act on an underlying model of failure. They often believe they are powerless and have an aversion to and fear of success. Their movement-culture is often characterised by feelings of despair and disempowerment.

Some activists become "negative rebels", who are stuck in protest and rebellion and, out of frustration, anger and despair advocate violent activities. These two barriers to effective strategic thinking and acting undercut effectiveness. They lead many activists to lose hope, become demoralised, burn-out, drop out, play ineffective or even destructive roles of activism, adopt less effective programs, and make movements unappealing to the majority of the public.



Strategic Assumptions of MAP:

The evolving set of models which go to make up MAP (the Movement Action Plan), are based on the following assumptions:

1. Social Movements are Proven To Be Powerful
2. Movements Are At The Centre of Society
3. The Real Issue Is Social Justice vs. Vested Interest
4. The Grand Strategy Is To Promote Participatory Democracy
5. The Target Constituency Is The Ordinary Citizen
6. Success Is A Long-Term Process, Not An Event
7. Social Movements Must Be Non-Violent

Adopting a Realistic Belief in Movement Success

Most activists tend to believe that they are powerless and their movement is failing. Amazingly, these beliefs are held even when movements are progressing along the normal road of movement-success. For activists to be fully effective, they need to believe in their own power and their movement's success. A preference for negative news is not unique to activists, and many of us seem to be perceiving other people and events through our own guilt and shame.

Activists' presumptions of powerlessness manifest in three

Activists' presumptions of powerlessness manifest in three main ways:

1. devising "logical" reasons for believing they are failing
2. adopting a movement "culture of failure"
3. by behaving in ways which indicate an "aversion to success".

1. "Logical" Reasons for Believing in Movement Failure.

The following nine reasons are the most common ones given by activists in Europe and North America for believing their movements were failing. These "logical reasons" are false indicators of movement performance. They judge movements according to whether movements have achieved their long-term goal, not by their actual progress. While all these reasons are true if the movement is failing, they are also true when movements are adequately progressing towards movement success.

i. *Nothing has changed* - The reality: Social change takes a long time. Change in attitudes is not always obvious.

ii. *The powerholders are too powerful and will never listen to the movement* - The reality: that is their role.

iii. *The movement is reactive, not proactive* - The reality: both the movement and the powerholders react to each other in an effort of win the support of the public.

iv. *The movement is merely "treading water"*, focusing on an endless series of issues without getting anywhere - The reality: every major social movement has many sub-issues. The real question is not whether the movement is dealing with too many sub-issues, but whether it is moving along the path of success.

v. *Experts and media commentators say the movement is failing* - The reality: it is the role of mainstream commentators to explain that opposition groups are illegitimate, non-existent, powerless or failing.

vi. *The movement is dead* - The reality: This often appears to be the case when movements are moving from the high-energy "take-off" stage to the stage when movement views are adopted by the majority (see "Stages of Social Movements" article in next issue).

vii. *Any "successes" were achieved by more powerful forces outside the movement*- The reality: powerholders are loathe to admit to being swayed by a movement they have consistently opposed.

viii. *The movement has not achieved its long-term goals* - The reality: change in value systems takes a long time.

ix. *The movement has not achieved any real victories* - The reality: One of the most significant achievements is to put issues on the public agenda and keep them there, but movements seldom see this as a success. Also, when short term goals are achieved, powerholders are often forced to replace policies with apparently more devastating ones. However, the powerholders have been forced to adopt these new policies and their position has been weakened.

2. The "Culture of Failure"

Any group has a collective set of assumptions about reality that is to some degree shared by its members and expressed in beliefs, values, ideology and behaviour. This

culture is deeply rooted, unconscious and rarely examined as to its validity and usefulness. Moreover, it sets narrow standards for acceptable thinking and acting.

The culture of social movements often includes a sense of powerlessness, despair and failure.

Some of the key symptoms of a culture of failure:

* *Focussing on movement tactics isolated from any strategy* - movement tactics are seen in isolation, unrelated to any recognised strategy for achieving long-term movement goals. Over time, many participants become despairing; they cannot make any connection between their present activities and the movement's long-term goals.

* *Analysis that emphasises the problem while excluding movement success*. Movement analysis shows that the situation is getting worse, and that the chances of success are remote. Revealing the gravity of the situation is an important strength of social movements. However, a continuous barrage of devastating facts without information of movement successes and goals tends to sink people into despair and inaction.

* *Overemphasising protest*: Protest and dissent are critical aspects of social movements. However, protest must be balanced with hope, and plans for achieving positive alternatives. Over time, protesting alone becomes wearing and can produce increased anger, burnout and even self-defeating militaristic activities.

* *Emphasising guilt rather than conscience as a motivator*. An appeal to our conscience is an appeal to our highest values and ethics, challenging us to express the best that is in us. The positive energy this brings forth has staying power.

* *Nostalgia for glorious past movements*. The members of those past movements probably voiced the similar nostalgic feelings.



The Chinese character for "crisis" is made up of two elements—"danger" and "opportunity."

3. Aversion to success

These are the behaviours and attitudes which movement members adopt in order to avoid success: * Believing that the movement is failing because it hasn't won yet.

* *Changing movement goals* far faster than they can be achieved and then counting the achievement of the discarded goals as failures.

* *Animosity towards success:* Activists often get upset or angry when told their movement is winning, but are friendly or agreeable when told of new alarming facts about the grievous situation they oppose.

* *Victim Behaviour:* Among many activists there is a need to play the role of underdog, the powerless but morally just minority. They unconsciously act in ways which perpetuate this role.

Activists in past social movements - those now recognised as being extremely powerful and successful - believed at the time that they were failing. Your movement might also be succeeding. This might be what success feels like.

Because beliefs in the power of movements have tremendous self-fulfilling impact, activists have a responsibility to carefully consider the possibility that they are powerful and that their movement is succeeding. To replace unrealistic belief in movement failure with a realistic belief in movement success, activists need to adopt a model of success. They need to give up the "advantages" of feeling powerless and to consciously incorporate personal and political maturity as important aspects of their movement work.

Activists need a new model of movement success to replace their present model of movement failure. People must be presented with a clearly explained new world view before an old world-view will be discarded. This is so even if an old world-view has already been discredited.

Activists normally operate on one model - movement failure, which describes reality in terms of their being powerless and failing. They interpret all their movement experience to fit this perspective.

By using a model of the process of movement success, activists can analyse a movement and evaluate where it is in the developmental process of creating social change. It can also identify the movement's past progress and successes in the struggle with powerholders.

Such an evaluation will enable activists to:

1. Set short-term goals, strategies and programs that are appropriate and that are needed to advance the movement to its next stage.

2. Become empowered by understanding their movement being more in charge of the process. This will also reduce burn out, discouragement and desperation.

The "Advantages" of Failure

It is necessary for activists to give up the "advantages" of believing they are powerless and their movement is failing. They must also be prepared to overcome their fear of success. The following are some answers given by activists over the last several years to the question, "What are the advantages of believing that your social movement

is failing and you are powerless:

* "Powerlessness allows us to be unaccountable and not responsible for our actions."

* "In success there is fear of corruption and cooptation - becoming like the establishment"

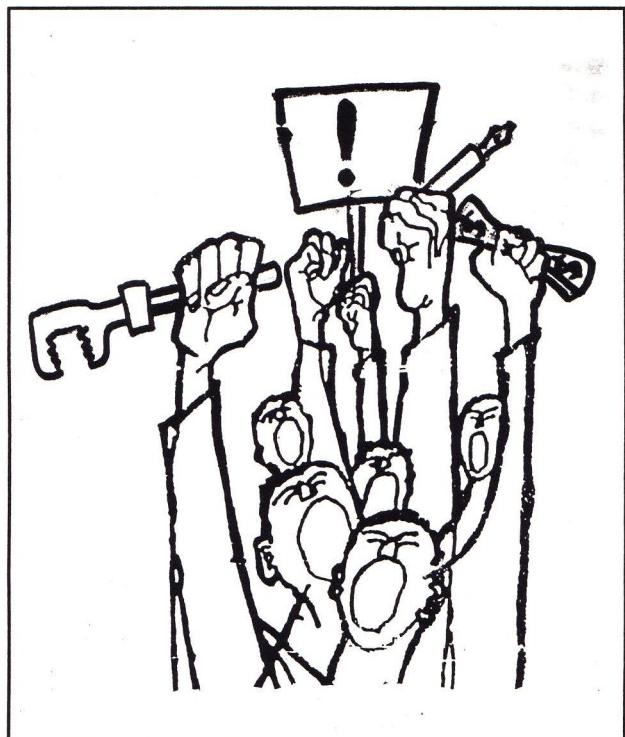
* "Underdogs have moral superiority. The more oppressed we are, the more we can appeal to underdog feelings of superiority and support."

* "I don't want the responsibility that goes with being powerful."

Changing to a Model of Realistic Success

In changing from a model of failure to one of realistic success, activists make a major emotional leap, redefining how they see themselves and their movement.

This change needs to occur at four levels: intellectual, emotional, spiritual and cultural. **Intellectual:** Activists need to change the way they interpret the information they already have, so they can decide for themselves if their movement is failing or progressing. **Emotional:** Activists need to make the emotional adjustments and changes required for them to redefine themselves as being powerful and successful. They need to give up the psychological "advantages of inferiority and be willing to become successful citizen-activists in a movement that is creating real social change. **Spiritual:** Each person needs to be committed to the inner journey of self-knowing and self-acceptance. Awareness and active exploration of the deeper dimensions of being human give us strength, appreciation of the potential that resides within all of us and a sense of meaning, greater understanding of the challenge that true change brings to ourselves and society. **Cultural:** Changes not only need to be made at the level of individual activists, but the movement's culture as well. Movement's successes, for example, should be recognised and celebrated rather than denied or condemned, in movement circles.



The Four Roles of Activism

The four roles, how to play them, barriers to playing them competently.

This model enables organisations and individuals to evaluate their activities and to agree on effective and responsible movement behaviour. Activists and groups are encouraged to use the model as a starting point for discussions within their own organisations, redefining the roles according to their own experience and insights.

Activists need to be seen as responsible *citizens* to win respect, acceptance and legitimacy from the great majority of ordinary citizens who must be won over for the movement to succeed. Citizens say "Yes" to society's core values. Activists must also be *rebels* and say a loud "No!" to social conditions and public policies that violate these values. But it is not enough to protest. Activists need to be *social change agents* who work to educate and involve the general public to oppose present policies and seek positive solutions. Finally, they must be *reformers* who work with the official political and judicial structures to get solutions incorporated into laws and governmental policies and accepted as the conventional wisdom of society.

The four roles have not been identified previously, and many of the ways of performing them ineffectively are accepted as normal behaviour for conducting social movements. As a result, activists have had no help in playing the roles effectively and have had no bases for evaluating their behaviour.

The four roles are played effectively when they are consistent with the strategic assumptions and long-term process of movement success.

The Citizen

Social Movements must be firmly grounded in the values, traditions and symbols of society that support basic human rights, dignity and freedoms. In order to win over the majority of public opinion, activists and organisations must be perceived as "good citizens".

The citizen role promotes movement success by helping to:

- * Articulate a vision of the good society
- * Achieve legitimacy in the eyes of ordinary citizens
- * Withstand powerholder attempts to discredit the movement
- * Reduce potential for violent attitudes and actions within the movement

The citizen role is played ineffectively when people accept uncritically the claims of the powerholders (eg., that the US is a fully working democracy at home and is fighting for freedom and democracy abroad).

The Rebel

As well as saying "yes" to what is right, activists must shout "No!" to violations of primary values and principles. Rebels use such means as direct non-violent action, education, mass rallies, boycotts, blockades,

leafletting, demands, symbols and civil disobedience. They put their bodies in the path of official institutions and power-holders.

What Rebels Achieve:

- * They put issues on society's agenda
- * They cause "creative tension" by pointing out the gap between what is and what should be.
- * They promote democracy by alerting the general public to the problem
- * They represent society's "moral vanguard".
- * They act on positive emotions - of empowerment, compassion, love, self-esteem and desire for a society that lives up to its own values.

The Negative Rebel

All 4 roles can be played ineffectively, but negative rebels deserve a special mention. Whereas mature rebels redirect the energy of their emotional distress (such as anger and frustration with powerholders) into imaginative and responsible action, negative rebels use strident rhetoric and aggressive actions against powerholders, institutions and policies. They advocate change by any means necessary, which usually means disruptive, destructive protests. At demonstrations, they characteristically engage in skirmishes with police and vandalism - all with a rebellious, anti-authoritarian attitude. Many negative rebels are self-defined radicals who advocate militant actions and revolutionary ideologies for social change. Yet, this amounts to empty rhetoric because their slogans are disconnected from any means for achieving change. Their strategies are mostly tactics-orientated and if anything are counter-productive to their goal of radical changes in society.

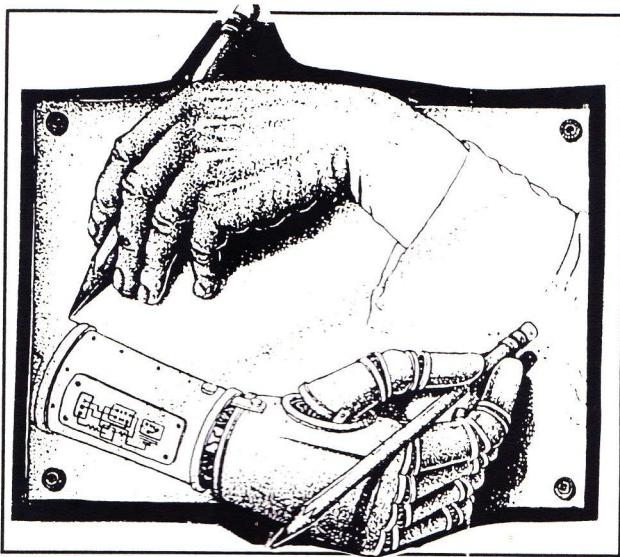
Negative rebels not only alienate most of the public, but much of the movement as well. Negative rebels are often driven by a negative self-image and tend to view themselves as being on the margins both of society and their movement, challenging authorities, structural arrangements, decisions and policies. They usually view the world as being polarised between good and evil - "we" who have the truth and are the vanguard of righteousness against "them" who are the powerful and outside enemy.

Social Change Agent

Protest is not enough. Movements must say "Yes" by educating the public about existing conditions and policies, promoting alternatives and involving the whole society in the long process of social change.

Social Change agents:

- * Nurture a new public consensus.
- * Act as an "open system": As well as providing information to the public, there is a need to learn through dialogue with the public and powerholders. Activists must base their work for change on their "relative truth" and be open to changing their opinions. Successful movements enable everyone to promote opinions in the public arena and facilitate a democratic process of resolution.



* Wage "Stage Six" - the "Majority Movement" stage (*see article in next issue*) by educating the public, propose or elicit alternatives and a new paradigm, and involve ordinary citizens and mainstream institutions in the process of change, and counter the efforts of the power holders to resist change.

* Promote a Long Term Perspective

Ineffective social change agents seek an alternative vision but they are not connected to the long-term process of building the social and political climate to achieve their vision at the societal level. Some advocate politically isolated personal growth, living their alternative vision themselves in ways that can only be achieved by society's privileged, formally educated or over-consuming middle classes. Some change agents make the mistake of believing that their approach is the only valid one. Many groups seek to deal with symptoms without promoting paradigm shifts.

Reformer

The reformer's purpose is to have the movement's goals and alternatives officially incorporated into the laws and policies of society's economic, social and political institutions. They use lobbying, referenda, political campaigns, lawsuits, etc. They make use of judicial, legislative and other institutional channels. They act as powerbrokers between the movement and the general public on the one hand, and the official powerholders and formal legal and parliamentary institutions on the other. This role is usually played by more establishment-oriented progressive people through large, Professional Opposition Organisations (POO's).

For ineffective reformers, organisational maintenance needs often replace political positioning as their priority, since catering to funders, foundations and boards of trustees requires moderate politics that are not too far from the status quo. As reformers try over time to get reforms adopted by official powerholders, they often become more concerned with the "realistic" goals of passing minor reforms than with the goals of the movement they initially saw themselves as representing.

Barriers to Playing the Four Roles Effectively

Here are some of the reasons why activists have difficulty playing the four roles:

Roles seem to conflict: the roles may appear to conflict with each other because they have contradicting goals and activities. For example, the citizen calls for activists to say "Yes" to society while the rebel says "No", advocating protest against the status quo.

Political correctness: Most activists and movements identify with only one or two of the roles, because each role involves different emotional and political attitudes, beliefs, attitudes, sources of funding and often organisational arrangements. Many activists are critical or even hostile to those playing other roles. Rebels, for example often think that direct protest is the only approach that makes sense against entrenched institutions and powerholders.

Roles are Stage-Related: Activists have difficulty playing the roles effectively because they are not aware that the roles are appropriate to different movement stages. What is a primary movement role in one stage may only be a secondary role in others.

Note: Bill Moyers ideas on the *Stages of Social Movements* will be covered in the next issue of WRR.

About the Author

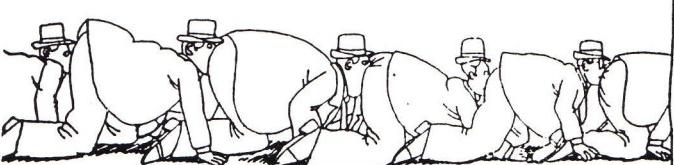
Bill Moyer has been an organiser, writer, trainer and strategist with a wide range of social movements for over 25 years. His experience includes work with the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War, anti-nuclear energy and weapons, European nuclear disarmament and non-intervention in Central America Movements. He was staff with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor People's Campaign, director of the American Friends Service Committee's Chicago open housing program, national non-violence trainer and co-founder of the Movement for a New Society and its Philadelphia Life Center. Currently, Bill is the national Project Coordinator of the Social Movement Empowerment Project.

MAP Publications

- * *Eight Stages of Successful Social Movements*, 1987.
- * *The Practical Strategist*, July 1990.
- * *The MAP Training Manual*, Dec. 1990.

Contact:

Social Movement Empowerment Project, 721 Shrader St., San Francisco, CA 94117. Phone: 415/387 3361



TV Timber Ad Gets the Chop!

It seemed like such a simple idea. Could a complaint from a couple of ordinary citizens really scupper a multi-million pound timber industry advertising campaign? All it took was a couple of phone calls and a night on the photocopier.

A television advert paid for by the Indonesian Forestry Community (MPI) presenting a very rosy picture of the state of Indonesian forests has been banned by the Independent Television Commission (ITC) in the UK. The advert had been broadcast on three UK television stations throughout May and early June of this year. After complaints about the advert, the ITC suspended it pending an investigation and finally banned it altogether from UK stations, two of which are satellite stations which can be seen all over Europe.

Earlier this year, Bob Hasan, chair of the MPI, close friend of President Suharto's and Indonesia's selfstyled 'forestry ambassador' launched a global campaign to combat calls to boycott Indonesian timber. The campaign included a disastrous trip to the European Parliament where well briefed MEPs vigorously challenged his assertions and a major advertising campaign. The mainstay of the ad campaign consists of a television advert promoting Indonesia's 'sustainable forestry practices' which is being seen all over the world.

The advert as shown in the UK goes like this:

'Imagine a world without forests, barren, suffocating, unlivable. A real possibility. But in Indonesia, where clearcutting is not permitted, 9 billion trees have been planted and 280 million acres made into a vast permanent forest, so that we and our children can breathe a little easier. Forest solutions for the world from the world's 3rd largest tropical rainforest.'

The ITC Statement:

Advertising Agency: Grey London

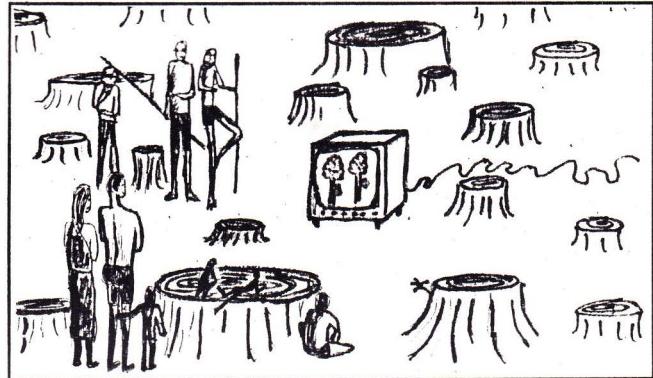
Complaint from: 5 viewers and 3 Environmental groups

Nature of Complaint: That the advertisements conveyed an unrealistically positive picture of forestry practices in Indonesia.

The advertisements... claimed variously that a) clearcutting of forests was not permitted in Indonesia and b) 280 million acres (or 79% of the forested land) had been made a vast permanent forest.

Complainants produced informed opinions (including that of the World Bank) querying the effectiveness of Indonesian reforesting practices... the effectiveness of enforcement of the policy forbidding clearcutting, and the statistics relating to forested land.

Assessment: The television companies had accepted the advertisements for broadcast on the basis of substantiating evidence



**"The ITC did not believe
that the impression
conveyed by the
advertising was justified"**

provided by the advertiser. After complaints were received with evidence disputing that which had been provided by the advertiser, the ITC suspended the advertising pending the outcome of its investigations.

Indonesian government policy restricts clearcutting of forested land to designated timber estates. However, the ITC received evidence to suggest that, despite the practices being illegal, clearcutting goes on in protected or limited production forest. The advertising agency responsible for the advertisements acknowledged that, despite that blanket claim that it is not permitted in Indonesia, clearcutting is allowed in specified areas and additionally occurs illegally.

The agency was also not able to dispute the challenge to the figures quoted in advertisements about the amount of forested land.

On the evidence before it the ITC did not believe that the impression conveyed by the advertising was justified. In the course of investigation it also became apparent to the ITC that the issues referred to in the advertisement were a matter of political controversy and the advertisements were therefore also in breach of rule 10 of the ITC Code of Advertising Standards and Practice which forbids the showing of publicity of such matters.

Decision: Complaints Upheld

If anyone would like more detailed information, including copies of the information which was used to get the advert banned, fax +44 81 653 0322.

Note: Forest campaigners attempting to place an ad on Australian television earlier this year were not so lucky. A rather tame ad proposed by an environmental organisation was rejected by one of Sydney's leading television channels for fear of upsetting the channel's major sponsors. - Editor

PM Secretary's warning on Timber Supply Area Proposal

Government departments are divided over the concept of Timber Supply Areas (TSAs). The proposal has been viewed with alarm by environmentalists.

It is understood that prior to a proposal for the advertisement of Timber Supply Areas, the Prime Minister's Secretary, Brown Bai, strongly recommended that no major efforts be made to pursue the concept of TSA's.

"The concept may have some merits, but at this stage it opens up many questions and concerns and may legally and constitutionally questionable unless very carefully considered," he said in a strongly worded letter to the Director General of PNGFA Jean Kekedo.

Last week *The Times* reported that a proposal by the PNGFA was before cabinet for deliberation. The proposal sought cabinet approval for the advertisement of 13 timber supply areas.

"There has already been public advertising of TSA Areas," Mr Bai said in his letter.

"This has understandably caused great misunderstanding and consternation because there is no real understanding of the concept and it certainly does not exist in any policy or legislation at this stage."

He said foresters had little knowledge of the concept. "They are the ones who have to deal with the confused and irate owners of the resource itself," he said.

Mr Brown said the difficulties with the concept were:

- * whether such large resource areas should be tied up with forest production, without consideration of other major land uses

- * whether such large areas were required to achieve viable processing. This would depend on the part of the nature and capitalisation of the processing, but sustainability and community participation should be a priority, not simply the achievement of a large scale processing industry.

Mr Bai said attention should be focused on the more tangible and immediate priorities of getting the existing timber industry under control.

Meanwhile, two landowners from the Gulf province have issued press statements against TSAs. Albert Hoaela, the Chairman of the Orovoi Development Corporation Pty Ltd and James Iaua from Ueea Homo Resources said the TSA system could only attract big investments to successfully operate.

"We are asking the National Forest Authority not to seek cabinet approval to advertise TSAs," they said. "We the customary landowners were not consulted about this concept."

Note: See ACTION PAGES in this edition of WRR for details of a letter writing campaign against the TSA proposal.

Source: The Times of PNG, August 11

The Mother of All PNG Videos

Get Your RIC Campaign Manual & Video Now!

Over the past few months, RIC has completed work on a video documentary on eco-forestry in Papua New Guinea (PNG), and a 100 page information book on PNG's logging industry. The production of this resource kit has given us an excellent platform for future campaigning to protect the rainforests of PNG.

The 45 minute documentary, *Mama Bilong Olgeta (The Mother of Us All)*, examines sustainable logging practices, especially portable sawmilling, and village-based management of forestry. The video is also an exposé of the exploitative companies currently sinking their teeth into the neck of PNG.

The transnationals that have devastated Malaysia's forests are now turning to PNG and the Solomons. The litany of abuses by these foreign-owned companies is staggering, with corruption and illegal activities at the fore of the logging industry. However, because 97% of the land is owned and controlled by the indigenous people, there is hope that this situation can be turned around.

For this reason, RIC is involved in ongoing landholder awareness projects to show the villagers what the large companies will do to their land.

The information manual that accompanies the video contains articles on various aspects of the PNG logging industry, drawn from worldwide NGO sources. It also looks at the problems associated with the massive Australian aid to PNG, as RIC would like to see more funding of smaller, village-based sustainable forestry operations.

What is hoped for is an increasingly active awareness program in PNG, at the village level, to inform people of the inevitable effects of industrial logging in comparison with the practices of sustainable forestry.

One issue currently being investigated is the formation of markets in Australia for "eco-timber" from PNG sources. This link in the chain is vital, as there must be an efficient way of selling eco-timber, and effective timber-labelling will need to become a regular practice.

Also included in the manual is a copy of Sydney Rainforest Action Group's excellent *Australian Campaigner's Guide* (which is worth getting in its own right for those of you down-under).

RIC activists who are involved in the PNG campaign are very excited about the possibilities and the achievement-potential. Due to the large landholdings of the native people, and given thorough education/awareness campaigns, the struggle to protect PNG's rainforests could have a happy ending.

Orders: PNG Campaign,
RIC, PO Box 368, Lismore 2480, NSW, Australia

For organisations involved in the PNG campaign, the video and manual are available at cost price: \$25. For others, the price is \$25 plus a donation. Cheques payable to: Rainforest Information Centre PNG Campaign

West New Britain Under Siege

by Brent Hoare

Having recently returned from six weeks in Papua New Guinea, I have to confess being profoundly shocked at the speed and scale of the logging I witnessed on West New Britain.

There are four timber companies operating in the 53 Timber Rights Purchase (TRP) and Local Forest Areas (LFA) in WNB. Stettin Bay Lumber Company (Japan), Nam Yang (South Korea), Cakara Alam (Malaysia) and by far the largest, under a plethora of subsidiary companies, Rimbunan Hijau (Malaysia). Most of these commenced operations in the late '80s or early '90s, and most are widely expected to have left by the turn of the century or soon after.

The entire coastline of New Britain is dotted with log ponds from which pontoons ferry the logs onto waiting ships. The majority of the logs are bought by Japan (companies such as Sumitomo, Nissho Iwai, Marubeni), about 30% by South Korea, and smaller amounts by Taiwan and Hong Kong.

By ensuring the cooperation of just a few key landholders in each area in charge of Landowner Companies, the Asian "contractors", as they are known, are able to operate as they please. Almost without exception, the people in the villages, even other directors of the Landowner Companies, have little if any idea of their rights, of the contractor's obligations, or of the vast sums being made by the foreign companies at their expense.

In many areas there is growing dissatisfaction at the perceived mismanagement of the Landowner Companies, the destruction of the environment and traditional sites, and at the failure of the contractors to deliver on their promises of developments such as schools, health clinics, permanent bridges and so on.

Rumours of corruption and bribery of government regulators are rife, and in any case government agencies simply do not have the capacity to check up on the companies.

Visiting the country primarily to investigate the activities of Australian owned logging operations and assess the sentiment of landowners in these areas, I was also able to gain an appreciation of the situation in many other places on the island, and to establish contact with local non-government organisations concerned about the situation.

It was very encouraging to discover many highly dedicated and experienced individuals and organisations committed to doing everything they can to help landowners appreciate the situations they find themselves in, and to empowering communities to make informed choices about their development options.

Perhaps the most valuable result from the visit was the assessment I was able to make of the potential role that could be played by those outside PNG who wish to help make a difference.

Because 97% of the land in PNG is traditionally owned, if a group of landowners takes a decision to pursue an alternative development option and to refuse access to their land by the loggers, they are well within their legal rights to do so. However as most landowners lack information and outside support to gain access to capital and markets, the temptation to throw their lot in with the loggers is often irresistible.

Landowner awareness patrols, when backed up by ongoing support to those communities which express interest in pursuing alternatives, can change everything.

Small scale community forestry operations using portable sawmills in conjunction with sensitive management plans represent an increasingly viable option for many communities, as demand for the timber from such operations is already far in excess of supply. Other non-timber forest products such as Galip nuts, coconut oil, butterfly and bird farming hold great promise of being able to provide villagers with the much sought after access to the cash economy.

The most urgent need is to make available the modest financial support needed by local groups to conduct awareness patrols into those areas most immediately threatened by logging, or most interested in investigating their options.

An initial patrol to assess a community's needs and resources can be funded for around AUS\$1000. Similar amounts are needed to fund exchanges of community leaders to visit model wokabaut somil operations, and to run training courses.

At the end of the wet season, in a few months time, the pace of road construction and logging will explode, so in some areas I visited there is very little time to waste. If you are able to help with any contribution to this critically important work, please send a cheque to the RIC PNG Campaign Fund today.

If you would like any more information on how your money can be used to help save rainforests in WNB, please don't hesitate to contact me at the address below.

"The longer we wait, the less we will achieve at twice the cost"

- Dr Norman Myers

Sydney Rainforest Action Group, PO Box A474, Sydney South , NSW2000, Australia. Ph: (61-2) 261-2104. Fax:(61-2) 264-6092 email: peg:brent / brenth@peg.apc.org

Dr. M's Diabolical Doublespeak in Forum Aftermath

by Brent Hoare

The struggle to contain the rampant exploitation of the forests of Papua New Guinea and the rest of the South Pacific by unscrupulous Asian companies witnessed new and bizarre applications of Orwell's concept of "doublespeak" in late August.

In blatant disregard of all the evidence of appalling and illegal conduct of the largely Malaysian companies plundering the region's forests, Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohammed launched another salvo in a growing propaganda war in defence of the rights of corrupt elites to lay waste to forests and indigenous peoples.

In a laudable attempt at the 25th South Pacific Forum (Brisbane, July 31-August 2) to respond to the recent dramatic expansion of foreign logging in PNG (see *WRR28*) Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating and Minister for Pacific Affairs Gordon Bilney expressed widely held and well documented concerns about the illegal, environmentally and socially devastating activities of foreign logging companies in the region.

These concerns were endorsed by island leaders in the Forum communique (see Box) which agreed to work towards establishing better monitoring and codes of conduct governing the logging of indigenous forests.

In response, the government controlled Malaysian paper the *New Straits Times* (12 August) accused Keating of using the forum to "terrify the island member-countries into a fortress mentality over their natural resources," and of "spook[ing] Island nations to unite against companies". The article cites the Australian Government's "sensitivity to regional displacement and antagonism of Malaysia" as it's "plainly motivated purpose" at the Brisbane Forum. "Keating Calls Us Pirates" blazed a headline from the *Sun* (3 August).

Three weeks later in the opening speech of a meeting of ASEAN forestry and agriculture ministers, Dr Mahathir launched a rebuttal that is chilling in its cynical disregard for the truth.

Apparently feeling threatened by an Australian offer of \$2 million in conservation aid to the Solomon Islands to help preserve the Marovo Lagoon, Dr Mahathir defended the right of ASEAN timber companies to reap enormous profits cutting down the forests of the South Pacific.

It is interesting to compare Dr Mahathir's comments with the views of some leading figures in the PNG public life:

Tim Neville - Former Minister of Forests:

"Our forests need to be protected from the 'gold rush' mentality which currently prevails... Too often Malaysian loggers do business by divide-and-rule. They work on landowners at one end, and ministers at the other, for whom there may be cash at the end of the day." (*Islands Business Pacific*, July, 1993)

Tos Barnett - Author of Royal Commission of Inquiry into PNG Timber Industry (SBS TV Interview, 1993)

"The method of extracting the logs was absolutely reckless. The aim was to get the timber felled, dragged by the shortest route down to the sea where the log ship would be waiting, and loaded on board. There were theoretical environmental conditions attached to the permits, but these were broken almost as a matter of course".

John Nilkare - Former Provincial Affairs Minister

"In fact all the companies were breaking the conditions, ignoring them really... Landowners are being duped into handing over their forests for a few quick bucks. It's rape." (*Islands Business Pacific*, July, 1993)

With the end of Malaysia's own log export trade in sight, PNG's forests are under siege by a few Asian companies determined to make as much money as they can, as quickly as they can, and then leave. The devastation in Sarawak is being repeated in PNG with alarming speed. While Mahathir has been able to condemn international environmental campaigns as interference in Malaysia's internal affairs, the invasion of PNG by Asian timber companies has no such defence.

Fortunately, resentment at the conduct of these companies, and those few who are benefitting from their presence is growing rapidly within PNG. Concerned groups and individuals around the world have an important and somewhat urgent role to play in exposing the devastating impact of these companies, and in focussing international attention on the unfolding tragedy in PNG.

What the Forum Said:

The following extract is the Forestry section of the Forum Communique of the Twenty-Fifth South Pacific Forum, Brisbane, Australia, 31 July - 2 August 1994:

5. FORESTS: The Forum expressed concern at the way in which forests throughout the region and the world were being harvested in a highly destructive manner. It welcomed initiatives being taken at the national level with the aim of achieving sustainable forestry practices and noted international negotiations on the subject.

6. The forum warmly welcomed the agreement between the Prime Ministers of Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu:

- To work towards a common code of conduct governing logging of indigenous forests, to which companies operating in their countries will have to adhere;

- On the need to increase urgently monitoring of logging and exports of timber;

- That senior officials will meet within the next two months to begin implementing these decisions.

What the Doctor Said

LANGKAWI, Aug 25 (Bernama) -- Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad said today some regional powers were offering money to persuade developing countries in the South Seas and other regions to stop the logging operations of Malaysian and other Asean companies. "We do not know what to call such aid, but it is questionable whether ecology has anything to do with it," he said when opening a meeting of Asean ministers of agriculture and forestry here. He said Asean timber companies had been careful not to destroy the forests they logged in the South Seas and other regions. "Unfortunately, the activities of Asean loggers to help the economy of many developing countries have aroused resentment in some regional powers.

The Prime Minister said when the need to conserve the world's forests was first recognised, the focus was almost exclusively on the tropical forest and its exploitation. He said a full-scale and emotive campaign was mounted in the West to ban the use of tropical hardwoods as if temperate land timber had no role at all in maintaining the ecological balance.

The timber tycoons of the North could clear-fell millions of hectares of forest with impunity, he said. "While we are not denying the role played by tropical forests in sustaining the ecological balance, we would like to point out that we do no clear felling. Extraction of timber is controlled," he said.

offered the Solomon Is. a "debt for nature swap", worth about US\$2 million. He said the money, which would help the Solomon Is. structural adjustment program, was conditional on a ban on all logging on government owned land in the area. Sylvania Products operates on government land.

Mr Keating said Australia recognised that reform of the forestry industry was the key element of the Solomon Is. structural adjustment program. In order to reduce the dependence of the people of the Marovo Lagoon area on forestry revenue, Australia would fund a coastal management feasibility study of the area to encourage the development of an environmentally sensitive tourism industry.

Mr Hilly said a Marovo task force would be established immediately to investigate the practices of Sylvania Products and other companies operating in the area. The task force would consist of officials from the Solomon Is. and an independent international expert to be provided under Australian aid.

"My government is not prepared to see our forest resources kidnapped and the livelihood of our people squandered. We share our neighbours' concerns about the future of our region's forests and we believe that together we can work to preserve the precious resource for our people not just now, but for our children's children," he said.

Mr Keating welcomed Mr Hilly's announcement and said Australia would be extending its assistance to the Solomon Is. forestry sector by providing expert legal assistance for the Solomon Is. government to renegotiate logging agreements to ensure they were in accordance with sustainable levels. Keating said that unless the environmental piracy of foreign logging companies operating in the South Pacific was controlled, the future for the region would be bleak.

South Pacific nations are also taking firm action to protect their fisheries from further exploitation and to ensure the people of the region receive a fair return from their natural resources. The South Pacific leaders at their annual retreat acted to strengthen the Forum Fisheries Agency so it can ensure more effective national control and management of the region's fisheries.

The leaders at the Forum supported the development of a multi-lateral approach to negotiating access to fisheries resources in their Economic Extension Zones. It was agreed that no member should be worse off under future multilateral arrangements, with the Forum pursuing this issue with distant water fishing nations which do not have multi-lateral agreements. The issue also will be raised when Forum countries meet the distant water fishing nations in December.

Meanwhile, Greenpeace has called on Australia to help South Pacific nations address the problem of coral bleaching. The environment organisation says this phenomenon is a threat to some island economies, with South Pacific seas being up to eight degrees warmer than normal, causing the tiny algae living in the coral to be expelled. This turns the coral white.

Greenpeace says the coral bleaching has reached the worst level since it was first identified as being caused by greenhouse gases in 1980. As the region's major producer of greenhouse gases, Greenpeace believes Australia has a responsibility help its Pacific neighbours.

Solomon Is. Suspends Malaysian Logging Co.

The Solomon Islands appears to have taken the first step towards getting tough with illegal, unsustainable logging practices. The Malaysian logging company Kumpulan Emas Group, operating as Sylvania Products, has had their operation suspended in the ecological jewel of Marovo lagoon.

According to the *Times* of PNG (August 4), the move is being seen as part of a new tougher policy against forestry piracy in the South Pacific. In Brisbane this week, the Prime Minister of the Solomon Is., Francis Billy Hilly, also announced a moratorium on all new logging licences from September.

Sylvania Products has been logging for several years in the Marovo Lagoon area in the Western province. Mr Hilly said the decision to suspend the company's licence had been taken following allegations that it had consistently carried out illegal forestry practices. He said the Marovo Lagoon was one of the finest environmental assets of the South Pacific region and was under consideration for World Heritage listing.

In a joint statement with Mr Hilly, Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating said that in recognition of the environmental significance of the Marovo Lagoon, his government had

ACTION PAGES

This section provides information on how you can support rainforest campaigns around the world.

If you have a campaign you would like publicised, write to:
WRR, PO Box 368, Lismore 2480, Australia. Ph: 066 218505 Fax: 066 222339

BRAZIL: Govt. Opposes CITES Listing of Mahogany

The current President of the Brazilian Environment Agency - IBAMA, Nilde Pinheiro, is waging a campaign to solidify Brazilian opposition to the listing of mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla*) under Appendix II of the CITES treaty, thus reversing a favourable position expressed in the last CITES meeting when Jose Lutzenberger was still Secretary of the Environment.

It is apparent that the IBAMA bureaucrats currently in charge of such policy decisions have no idea of the seriousness of the issue, or that such a position being expressed by Brazil will trigger renewed boycotts against Brazilian timber, this time with the support of several Brazilian environmentalists.

The International Wildlife Coalition/Brasil, unfortunately, will probably be the only Brazilian NGO present at CITES 94 to fight for mahogany listing.

What You Can Do

1. Contact the closest Brazilian embassy before November (when CITES will meet again) and express deep concern about the Brazilian opposition to mahogany listing.

2. Write to President Itamar Franco, at Palacio do Planalto, 70000 Brasilia, DF, Brasil, expressing the same concerns and alerting him to the implications of opposing the CITES listing.

Soybean Highway: Call for Urgent Response

Brazil Highway Management II Project Threatens savannah, waterways and small farmers

In March, the World Bank approved a loan for road works which will probably contribute massively to the expansion of soybean production in southern Brazil, causing land conflicts with traditional slash-and-burn farmers, polluting drinking water and destroying up to one million hectares of savanna. In Tocantins, some roads to be asphalted under the project (TO-080 and TO-220) would probably support logging in primary rainforests of the neighboring state of Para.

World Bank staff told the German NGO URGEWALD in July that the first loan disbursement to the project would be made "soon".

An environmental impact assessment with adequate public participation was not undertaken. An internal Bank appraisal report says the project aims at "development of new land". Despite this, and in contravention of its own regulations, the Bank has classified the project as "not (having) significant impacts".

In mid-June, three Brazilian NGOs representing the affected

population in the large municipality of Balsas (in the South of Maranhao) severely criticized the project: The Sindicato de Trabalhadores Rurais, i.e. the rural workers union, the grassroots organizations Associação Campesina and Movimento de Educacao de Base said they "have become concerned about the impacts the project can cause to the population, and in particular to the rural workers". Their concerns are over the deforestation of savannas for soybean cultivation which will reduce the water available for the small traditional farmers and rural workers and the use of pesticides which will pollute the rivers, creeks, and drinking water.

The NGOs are also concerned that the project will adversely affect the region's population of about 150,000 rural workers living as *posseiros* (farmers without land title) or as small-scale farmers. They fear that "now, these modest people will have to move to squatter settlements of the town".

\$US 603 million is to be spent on road building in present and future soybean production areas in the Brazilian States of Maranhao, Tocantins and Piaui. The World Bank approved a \$ 220 million loan for this scheme. In view of Brazil's budget difficulties, the Bank loan is a very important contribution to the implementation of the highway project.

The World Bank road project would comprise rehabilitation and resurfacing of about 1,550 km, periodic and routine maintenance of about 18,500 km, and upgrading and paving of about 2,650 km of roads.

During the first project year (beginning 1994), the most questionable part of the project is to be carried out: a road section of 300 km right into the centre of the savannas of South Maranhao and Piaui is to be upgraded. This work will create easy access to the region for heavy trucks. This road corridor from Balsas, Maranhao, to Gilbués, Piaui, will connect an undeveloped area to the Carajás export corridor.

What You Can Do

A number of NGOs in Europe and Brazil have written to the World Bank to protest against disbursements to this project. At this moment, it is critical to have a demonstration of support by concerned organizations and individuals through such actions as a) letter-writing to the World Bank President, and b) dissemination of the information in this Action Alert to the local, national and international news media.

Sample Letter to be Sent to Lewis Preston, President of the World Bank

Mr. Lewis Preston President The World Bank Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Preston,

We are writing to express our grave concerns regarding the Brazil State Highway II Project, financed with a US\$ 220 million World Bank loan. This project which was approved in March 1994 is likely to cause severe environmental and social damage to the project region. In spite of its characterization as "developing new land" (Staff Appraisal Report pp. 98 and 99), it has been

ACTION PAGES

classified as a "Category B" project: no comprehensive environmental impact assessment has been carried out, and the affected population has not been consulted.

Therefore, we are calling on the World Bank to immediately halt disbursements for this project. We fully support the demands of local NGOs that an environmental assessment of the project be carried out and that the affected population be consulted. The World Bank should enter into contact with the legitimate representatives of the affected population in the project region - for example, in the Municipality of Balsas with the Rural Workers Union, the Associação Campesina and the Movimento de Educacão de Base.

Please inform us what the World Bank intends to do in this case.

Sincerely . . .

Please send copies of all letters to:

Urgewald e.V., Brazil Desk, Helmut Hagemann, Husarenstr. 11, 53117 Bonn, Germany. Tel./Fax +49-228-677350 e-mail urgewald@gn.apc.org

Thank you!

Rubber Tappers under Attack

The region of Xapuri is at the heart of the struggles and victories of the rubber tappers movement headed by Chico Mendes. An increasingly virulent campaign, including imprisonment and torture, and media misinformation against the tappers, is threatening to derail the victories won by the movement. The Union of Rural Workers of Xapuri and the National Council of Rubber Tappers have called for international pressure to be put on those responsible for these attacks.

On June 6, the rubber tappers' community of Nova Esperanca organized an *Empate* [non-violent resistance] to stop the deforestation of an area of 450 ha. by a rancher named Marcos Carvalho. Rubber tapper families have been living and working in the area for over 30 years. However the rancher wants to deforest it, cutting over 1,000 rubber trees and ruining the livelihood of the tappers.

According to the Union of Rural Workers of Xapuri, Carvalho is being helped by the military police, who have been threatening the rubber tappers. On June 9, police arrested Edson Silva, an adviser to the rubber tappers in Xapuri. On May 10, Silva was transferred to the state capital of Rio Branco, where doctors attested that he was badly beaten up and tortured by the police in Xapuri.

The Union of Rural Workers and the National Council of Rubber Tappers hold the local judiciary system and *A Gazeta*, a Xapuri newspaper, responsible for the climate of tension. According to the Union, Judge Maria Tapajos Santana ordered the arrest warrant that resulted in Silva's imprisonment, and has refused appeals of *habeas corpus*. *A Gazeta*, it is claimed, has sensationalised the issue and is trying to discredit the leaders of the movement.

The Union of Rural Workers says it is negotiating a peaceful solution to the land dispute in the area with IBAMA, the national agency for the environment. It is asking for calm in face of these attacks by the military police and the local judiciary.

What You Can Do

Please send a fax to Judge Maria Tapajos Santana and to Dr. Erick Cavalcante, expressing concern about the accusations made against the rubber tappers movement and the tense situation in Xapuri. Join us to protest this situation and to support the rubber tapper's movement through the crisis. We must let the local judiciary know that the world is still watching Xapuri, and that the struggles won by the rubber tappers there are an example for the rest of the Amazon.

Please send a fax or letter to:

Dra. Maria Tapajos Santana Areal and Dr. Erick Cavalcante Linhares Lima
Address: Rua Floriano Peixoto S/N, 69.930-000 Xapuri - Acre, Brasil.

Fax: A/C Banco da Amazonia 011 55 68 542 2341

Please send copies to Amanaka'a at (212) 674 9139.

Sources: Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Rurais, Xapuri; Conselho Nacional dos Seringueiros, Rio Branco; Imagens da Terra, Rio de Janeiro

Narmada Dam: Protest Letters Needed

The controversial Sardar Sarovar Dam Project is continuing despite massive local and international protests (see WRR23 and 24). Construction of the dam has resulted in the homes and land of thousands of people being flooded. Last year, in the face of massive pressure on the World Bank's involvement in the scheme, the Indian Government decided to continue construction without Bank assistance.

Please send letters or faxes to Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao condemning the human rights abuses resulting from the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam and urging that:

- * Construction on the dam be halted and the sluice gates at the foot of the dam be opened;
- * The review of the project commissioned last year by the New Delhi government be completed and published;
- * The orders prohibiting anti-dam protests in the submergence villages be removed;
- * The police be withdrawn from the submergence villages;
- * Forcible evictions do not take place.

Please send copies of protest letters to the Indian Ambassador in your country, and to the Narmada Bachao Andolan.

* Prime Minister of India, PV Narasimha Rao, 7 Racecourse Road, New Delhi 110001, India., Fax: +91 11 3016857/9817

* NBA, Udayniwas (2nd Flr), Next to Pothiwala Dairy Farm, Shivaji Road, Dandia Bazar, Baroda 390 001, India

If possible also send copies to the following addresses:

1) President, World Bank, Lewis Preston
1818, H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433

(Write to Preston condemning the Bank for its long support of the project. Demand that the Bank admit its legal responsibility for the proper resettlement of the SSP oustees under its loan agreements, which remain in place despite the cancellation of further disbursements of the loans for the dam).

2) Minister of Environment and Forests, Kamal Nath, Pariyavaran Bhavan, CGO Complex, Lodi Road, New Delhi 110033. Fax: +91 11 4632222/3013674

3) Minister of Water Resources, V.C. Shukla, Shram Shakti Bhavan, Rafi Marg, New Delhi 110001. Fax: +91 11 3016863

4) Home Minister of India, S.B. Chavan, South Block, New Delhi 110001

5) Minister of Social Welfare, Sitaram Kesari, Shashtri Bhavan, Rafi Marg, New Delhi 110001.

6) Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Sharad Pawar, Mantralaya, Bombay 400020, India. Fax: +91 22 3631446

7) Chief Minister of Gujarat, Chhabildas Mehta, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India.

8) Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Digvijay Singh, Vallabh Bhawan, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, India.



Don't cry for Argentina - write letters

The Argentine NGO Fundacion para la Defensa del Ambiente (FUNAM) is asking European NGOs, especially those in Britain, to join in their campaign against the plans of a British-based firm to log local native hardwoods.

Australian Argentine Agriculture (AAA) plans to fell a rare quebracho forest on a 500-square-kilometer parcel of land in Santiago del Estero province to turn into parquet flooring and charcoal to sell mainly in Europe through a British importer, Plaut International. Some replacement planting with eucalyptus is envisaged.

FUNAM's president, Ral Montenegro, a UN Global 500 award-winner, calls the project "predatory" and "unsustainable". According to satellite data analyzed by a research group affiliated with the newspaper *El Liberal*, the forest where the project is planned includes the last wild quebracho stands in Argentina.

Other Argentine media are also in an uproar about the project. Newspapers such as *Clarín*, *El Cronista Comercial* and *Página 12* of Buenos Aires have published several big articles or editorials each on the AAA plan, and more than 10 TV news features have been aired.

Montenegro adds that replacing indigenous forests with plantations would cause erosion and soil acidification, and demands better protection for Argentina's semi-arid forests.

According to Montenegro, AAA's Buenos Aires office is a "phantom office". "People who work in this office reject any kind of contact or knowledge vis-a-vis AAA," he said.

The project has not been authorized by Santiazo del Estero's Department of Forestry, according to Montenegro.

The company is also unregistered in Britain. Inquiries to the company's director about its status, board of directors, and plans to conduct an EIA for the project have so far gone unanswered. AAA's director is Robert A. Wenham, an Australian with experience in cattle-raising. The business address given for AAA in Britain is 3 Grove Plc., Acton W3 6AS (telephone and fax 081-896-0158). AAA is currently seeking investors in Britain for the project, especially for the machinery needed, and so may be vulnerable to public pressure there. The company would give a 49% interest to an investor putting US\$6 million into the project.

FUNAM's Montenegro says that a European campaign could publicize:

- (1) The destructive and unsustainable nature of the project.
- (2) The criticism the project is getting in Argentina by distributing press clippings.
- (3) The secrecy in which the project has been planned without an EIA.

What You Can Do

Montenegro suggests that press releases and a small campaign requesting letters addressed to the Argentine ambassador to the UK asking for the project to be banned would be useful. He also suggests letters to Carlos S. Menem, President of Argentina, at Balcarce 50, 1er Piso, (1064) Capital Federal, Argentina, Fax +54 1 331 6376.

"Also important," Montenegro says, "is to demonstrate the positive cooperation between nongovernmental organizations" from Argentina and Europe.

For further information: Raul A. Montenegro, FUNAM, Casilla de Correo 83, Correo Central (5000) Cordoba, fax +54 51 52 02 60.

For documentation about the AAA project, including press clippings: Larry Lohmann, The Ecologist, Agriculture House, Bath Road, Sturminster Newton, Dorset, DT10 1DU, UK, fax +44 (0)258 473748.

PNG: Timber Supply Area Legislation Could Speed Logging

For background info. see PNG section.

PNG's proposed Timber Supply Area legislation would have significant adverse effects upon the country's forests and cultures. Already letters have started to stream into PNG. Following is one which was printed in the letters to the editor section of the Times of PNG, and came from Dr. Marcus Colchester, the Director of the Forest People's Programme in the United Kingdom.

Letter writing campaigns have saved substantial rainforests in Papua New Guinea and we have every reason to believe this will continue.

If you do not have the time to pen an entirely original letter, this wonderfully put together letter would work well as a base from which to elaborate. Please take the time to write!

Dear Editor,

I am writing to convey my grave concerns about the development of the Timber Supply Area (TSA) concept, which will seriously undermine the new Forest Act.

While we recognise your country's right to develop its natural resources, the effect of the TSAs will be to create legal monopolies in the PNG timber industry under the control of foreign multinationals. The linking of TSA acquisitions to downstream processing does at least ensure that more revenue accrues within PNG, but the focus on supplying downstream milling operations and the unrealistically high estimates of timber yield, will force logging operators to lobby aggressively to secure every piece of merchantable timber within a TSA in order to maintain economic viability. Considerable pressure is likely to be exerted on landowners who decide not to log, assuming that landowners will indeed be able to veto forestry operations on their lands.

By concentrating on a single land use, the TSA concept ignores subsistence and cash agriculture, biodiversity and conservation, tourism and non-timber forest products as alternative resource uses which could be more sustainably implemented.

The increased political leverage by a small number of large companies, as seen elsewhere in the Pacific region, will marginalise community-based forestry operations utilising low impact extraction techniques.

Of particular concern is the fact that no consultation appears to have been carried out to inform landowners and ascertain their views on a development which will surely have significant impact on their livelihoods and customs. Indeed, we understand that even though no legislation has been passed, TSA's are already being advertised in Madang province causing tensions amongst the landowner groups to run very high.

Sincerely, . . .

Please take the time to register your concern by sending a letter to the following people. It would be particularly useful if you or your organization can further "amplify" this letter request by publishing the TSA alert in newsletters or passing along to friends and coworkers. Letters concerning the above situation can be sent to:

The Hon. Tim Neville, Minister for Forests, PO Box 5055, Boroko, PNG. Phone: 675 27 7847 Fax: 675 25 5457

Jean Kekedo, Managing Director, PNG Forest Authority, PO Box 5055 Boroko, PNG. Phone: 675 27 7800 Fax: 675 25 4433

Sir Julius Chan, Prime Minister, PO Box 6605, Boroko, PNG Phone: 675 27 6715 Fax: 675 27 6540

Post Courier, PO Box 85, Port Moresby, PNG. Phone: 675 21 2787 Fax: 675 21 4341

Times of PNG (PNG Business, Wantok, Weekend Sport, Times, Word Publishing), PO Box 1982, Boroko, PNG Phone: 675 25 2500 Fax: 675 25 2579

The National (Pacific Star Pty Ltd) PO Box 6817, Boroko, PNG. Phone: 675 24 6888 Fax: 675 24 6767

GUYANA: ACTION NEEDED TO ENFORCE LOGGING CONCESSION FREEZE

Appeals by Guyanese and international NGOs in early 1994 were spectacularly successful and led to a temporary freeze on the hand out of timber concessions in Guyana. Nearly four million ha. of forests were saved as international aid agencies, alerted by public appeals, urged the Guyanese Govt. to ensure prudent management of its forests. Now, under pressure from Malaysian investors, Govt. assurances not to hand out more forests to foreign companies until it has the capacity to oversee the operations look like being swept aside. Guyanese NGOs have asked for international support to stem this assault.

As a result of pressure from creditor nations, the heavily indebted country has been opened up to foreign investment. One result has been a massive increase in logging activities, which threaten serious environmental damage and a disruption of the lives of the indigenous peoples ('Amerindians') who make up the majority of the population in the interior.

In 1989 only 2.4 m ha. of Guyana's 14 m ha. of loggable forests were under exploitation but today, contracts for more than 8 m ha. have been signed and a further 4 m ha. are in the pipeline.

The Guyana Forestry Commission has only 5 trained foresters and a tiny budget. The World Bank found that the Commission is in fact controlled by the industry that it is supposed to regulate.

Most new investors are Asian companies - mainly Malaysian and Korean - who, having exhausted the forests of South East Asia, are moving west. In line with donor prescriptions on the need to encourage foreign investment, these companies have been able to secure extraordinarily beneficial contracts, which include tax holidays, minimal royalty payments and the right to export unprocessed timbers.

There are already indications that the social and environmental impacts witnessed in South East Asia will be repeated in Guyana - alienation of indigenous peoples from their lands, unsustainable logging and destroyed or degraded habitats. Guyana's tentative steps towards a more liberal political order threaten to be derailed by the cronyism and corruption endemic in the logging industry.

Widespread Call for Concession Freeze

Guyanese NGOs, including the Amerindian Peoples Association, the Guyana Human Rights Association, the Guyana Council of Churches as well as trades unions, backed by international human rights and environmental organisations, called for a freeze on logging concessions in January 1994 and this call has been echoed by Guyana's Forest Products Association, which represents the domestic timber industry. Many of the main aid agencies active in Guyana have repeated the demand and most of the staff of the Guyana Forestry Commission are also in favour of a concession freeze.

In response to this concerted pressure, Guyana's President Cheddi Jagan has given public assurances that no more concessions would be handed out. However, there is clear evidence that foreign interests continue to press for new concessions, and the Chairman of the Board of the Guyana Forestry Commission, Mr David Persram, has repeatedly told the press that he does not agree with the freeze on concessions. He intends to grant a new concession of 600,000 ha. in the country's Middle Mazaruni region to a consortium of Singaporean,

Malaysian, Indonesian and PNG companies.

Overall, foreign companies are presently negotiating for some 4 million ha. of forests most of which lies outside the present extent of 'State Forests'.

What You Can Do

The Amerindian Peoples Association and the Guyana Human Rights Association condemned the Government's intention 'to hitch the fortunes of this country to Asian conglomerates' as 'reckless and short-sighted' and called for pressure on bilateral and multilateral donors 'not to support any further initiatives to develop the interior of Guyana until an effective institutional and policy framework is in place'.

Please send polite letters or faxes to the Guyanese President, if possible with copies to the relevant bilateral and multilateral aid agencies. Make the following points:

* Appreciate the relatively good condition of Guyana's forests but note with concern that logging concessions have already expanded in the last five years to include most State Forests.

* Note with approval the President's recent widely reported undertaking not to hand out further concessions until the Guyana Forestry Commission is strengthened so as to be able to effectively regulate the timber industry.

* Emphasise that in many other countries where controls have been inadequate such as Malaysia, PNG and the Solomon Is. the timber industry has over-exploited forests creating severe political, social and environmental problems.

* Express concern that many of the same companies responsible for destructive logging and illegal business practices in these countries are now seeking concessions in Guyana.

* Express alarm at recent press statements that suggest that senior Government officials, quite contrary to the President's recent public statements, plan to hand out further logging concessions after a token 'streamlining' of the Forestry Commission.

* Urge that an unambiguous commitment is made that no further logging concessions will be handed out until the Guyana Forestry Commission is properly strengthened and able to oversee new regulations that ensure sound forest management. Insist that priority is given to the land rights of Amerindian communities.

Address your letter to:

The Hon. Cheddi Jagan, President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Office of the President, Vlissengen Road, Georgetown, Guyana
Fax: + 592 2 269969

Please send copies of your letters and replies you receive to: Amerindian Peoples Assn., 71 Quamina St., Georgetown, Guyana

For further information contact the World Rainforest Movement
fax: +44 1608 676743 tel: 01608 676691 email: wrm@gn.apc.org



The Other Privatisation Debate

Further Discussion of *Genes for Sale: Privatization as a Conservation Policy*

In *Genes for Sale* the author contends that "the creation of property rights over genetic information can make preservation compete with alternative land uses", thereby providing a solution to the mass extinction crisis. Issues raised in the book have been debated in previous issues (see WRR's 26 and 27).

John Revington's review of the desktop version of my book *Privatisation as a Conservation Policy* (now entitled *Genes for Sale* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. ISBN 0-19-508910-3,) prompted my reply in the February issue and, in turn, his reply to my reply! Because the issues of intellectual property rights (IPRs) are complex, Mr. Revington and I have agreed to some simple questions that would occur to any careful reader of *Genes for Sale*.

Before proceeding, some preliminary remarks are in order. First, the genie of IPRs is already out of the bottle. For example, the Ministries of the Environment in Western Australia and Queensland are asserting IPRs over their endemic biota through legislative initiatives and several Ministries of the Environment in the developing countries are considering the Merck-INBio contract as a template for similar arrangements in their countries (see World Resource Institute Book *Biodiversity Prospecting* ISBN 0-915825-89-9) IPRs are emerging *de facto* and I think this is unfortunate inasmuch as developing countries have, in isolation, little bargaining power (imagine Costa Rica pitted against Merck at the negotiating table!). A reasoned system with safeguards *de jure* will only be reached if the environmental community can act quickly. This is the program I set forth in *Genes for Sale* and the program with which Mr. Revington takes issue:

(1) How will the massive costs of policing a scheme like Vogel's be met?

There is a continuum in the methods of extermination: from burning and clear cutting to poaching and the introduction of non-indigenous species. Although measurement of the latter may be costly, measurement of the former is not. Satellite photography can cheaply document the extent of mass extinction through burning and clear cutting. Therefore, detection is not expensive. The expense lies in enforcement of protection. The solution I suggest is self-protection. We should franchise pioneering individuals with IPRs over biodiversity. They will become proactive in defence of themselves and their property as have pioneers throughout history. That is why I suggest that the ecological edge of pristine habitats be "genesteaded".

(2) Are we expected to accept on faith that the royalties from selling genes will cover the astronomical costs of the vast database he proposes, plus the payment and monitoring of "genesteader" and still have enough left over to outbid the oil and timber industries?

The commercial value of land is also a matter of degree. At the low end of the continuum, pristine habitat is degraded

"The genie of intellectual property rights is already out of the bottle . . . a reasoned system of safeguards will only be reached if the environmental community can act quickly"

for cattle (e.g., the western state Rondonia, Brazil). At the high end, pristine habitat is degraded for gold (e.g., the Brazilian mountain Serra Pelada). I will readily concede that if there had been IPRs over the endemic species found on Serra Pelada, then the royalties collected would not have outbid the several billion dollars of gold already extracted. However, gold is valuable precisely because it is scarce! Most habitats do not have highly valuable commercial resources like gold; most habitats are degraded for commercial resources of relatively low value like cattle. The proposed

royalty rate in *Genes for Sale*, 15% on value to added revenues, will enable preservation to compete with cattle.

The vast database I propose has also been proposed by others. It is called Systematics Agenda 2000 and I direct the interested reader's attention to SA2000, Herbarium, New York Botanical Gardens, Bronx, NY 10458, USA. The price tag of Systematics Agenda 2000 is \$3 billion and its architects advocate government support. I am not optimistic that the money will be forthcoming. Historically, governments have been very stingy when it comes to taxonomy and I doubt there will be any change of heart with respect to Systematics Agenda 2000. The free-rider effect militates against it. For example, if Japan foots the bill for the database then the US will benefit as much as Japan, but not have to pay a single penny; and if the US foots the bill, the Japan will benefit as much as the US and not have to pay a single yen! So no one contributes and the free-rider effect triumphs. *Genes for Sale* suggests how to finance the requisite data-base and deny access to all who would free-ride.

Continued on page 25

BEYOND DUALITY

A Personal Exploration of Ecofeminism and Deep Ecology

by Ana Halafoff

The content of this article is my opinion only. I am under no illusion that my opinion is worth more than anyone else's. I can write only what I feel. I am neither ecofeminist or deep ecologist as I prefer not to label myself in any way. Having explored both theories and practices to some degree I have learnt from both movements.

My study of ecofeminism began several years ago when I first read from *Healing the Wounds*, an anthology of ecofeminist writings. I did not read the entire book.

Healing the Wounds awakened much in me. I had never been able to identify with radical rationalist or cultural feminists. Discovering that there was a movement that celebrated the differences between men and women, believed in equality and recognised the similarities between women and mother nature was so uplifting. I felt, at the time, that without knowing it I had always been an ecofeminist.

I began to celebrate the fact that I was a woman. I read many books on women's spirituality, about the Goddess and witchcraft. I read accounts of history and prehistory that were written by women. My eyes opened onto a new world. These religions believed the earthly and the spiritual to be of equal value. In some cases they venerated the earth above everything else. My childhood 'christian' church beliefs were shattered.

At the time I was totally ignorant politically, I could see around me that the world was experiencing difficulties, I was experiencing difficulties living in the world, yet I had not in any way questioned the 'system'. Ecofeminism had been born from 'a critical analysis of and opposition to the uniformity of technological, industrial culture - capitalistic and socialist'. (King) I too began to question what was around me.

The ecofeminist writers I was reading hold the 'patriarchal system' directly responsible for the oppression of women, nature, indigenous people, for racism, violence and war. Finally, I believed I had found the root of the world's problems. I too began to

blame 'patriarchy', and the men I believed were responsible for creating it, for everything.

Initially I adhered to the vision that women and nature were intrinsically linked and that women had certain 'feminine' characteristics, that we were naturally more compassionate, loving and understanding than men were capable of being. I, along with some other ecofeminists believed that the world's problems had resulted because these 'feminine' virtues had been suppressed by the 'patriarchal system'. In order to 'save the planet' these virtues had to be practiced to restore the balance in our society.

I was particularly struck by the words of Susan Griffin - "Suffering grief in my own life, I have felt all the impulses that are part of my culture in my own soul. In my resistance to pain and change, I have felt the will toward self-annihilation. And still the singing in my body daily returns me to a love of this earth. I know that by a slow practice, if I am to survive, I must learn to listen to this song."

Some time passed and many other learnings followed. Along with them came doubts relating to my ecofeminist beliefs. Firstly I began to see that for my own growth I could no longer divide characteristics into 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Differences between the two sexes no doubt exist but I began to believe it was important for me to acknowledge that both sexes were equally capable of practising true love, compassion and understanding. I feel that to say one sex is naturally or

socially conditioned to possess these virtues with more ease than the other is perpetuating a system of inequality. I ceased to call anything 'feminine' or 'masculine'.

"To say one sex is naturally or socially conditioned to possess these virtues with more ease is perpetuating inequality"

socially conditioned to possess these virtues with more ease than the other is perpetuating a system of inequality. I ceased to call anything 'feminine' or 'masculine'.



I began to feel that to place the Earth and the earthly sphere of living above all else was not compatible with me. I tried it for a time but felt unbalanced. Elevating the earth above the spirit seems no better to me than elevating the spiritual above the earthly. Both beliefs encourage hierarchical thinking and therefore inequality.

I ceased to call myself an ecofeminist.

Soon afterwards I became increasingly aware of the environmental problems of planet earth. I lived for a time in a tropical rainforest and experienced first hand the beauty and wisdom of the forest and also the threats it was experiencing from my and others being there. As a result of this I experienced a full range of emotions.

It was evident to me early on that my anger, frustration, impatience, and criticisms of others was not helping the forest in any way. Indeed the forest seemed so large, so ancient that I felt that nothing that I or anyone was capable of doing would affect it permanently in anyway. The forest did not depend on me for anything. The earth did not depend on any human. However, we depended on the forests, on the earth. Deep inside I knew, I felt that I was connected to the earth, to every living being. The words of Susan Griffin returned to me. I knew I was listening to the sacred song of which she had spoken. The anger and frustration in the environmental movement did not feel right to me.

"Elevating earth above spirit seems no better than elevating the spiritual above the earthly. Both encourage hierarchical thinking and therefore inequality"

The deep connection I feel with nature prompted me to work within the movement although a large part of me felt that because my way of being was so different from most activists perhaps I had no place there. It was at that time that people began mentioning deep ecology. I read *Thinking Like a Mountain* from cover to cover. The writings of Arne Naess and John Seed made quite an impression on me. They too had become disillusioned with angry activism and had experienced the same connectedness with nature as I had felt. At first glance I shared their sentiments, although I found Naess's academic style of writing a struggle. In his article Naess advocated 'therapies' to 'heal our relations with ... all living beings'.

The book discussed a therapy called the Council of All Beings. I have never attended such a workshop, a written account of its aims, what is said during the workshop to guide people, some activities and results are discussed by Joanna Macy in *Thinking Like a Mountain*.

Reading about this therapy I was disappointed. I did not agree with its methodology at all. Macy advocates that each individual is experiencing the pain and anguish of this planet and in order to heal ourselves we must first experience this pain. Similar to the rebirthing methodology I find this method of 'healing', masochistic and far too extreme for me. I am a sensitive person. I had already experienced much suffering with the earth, I had no desire to put myself

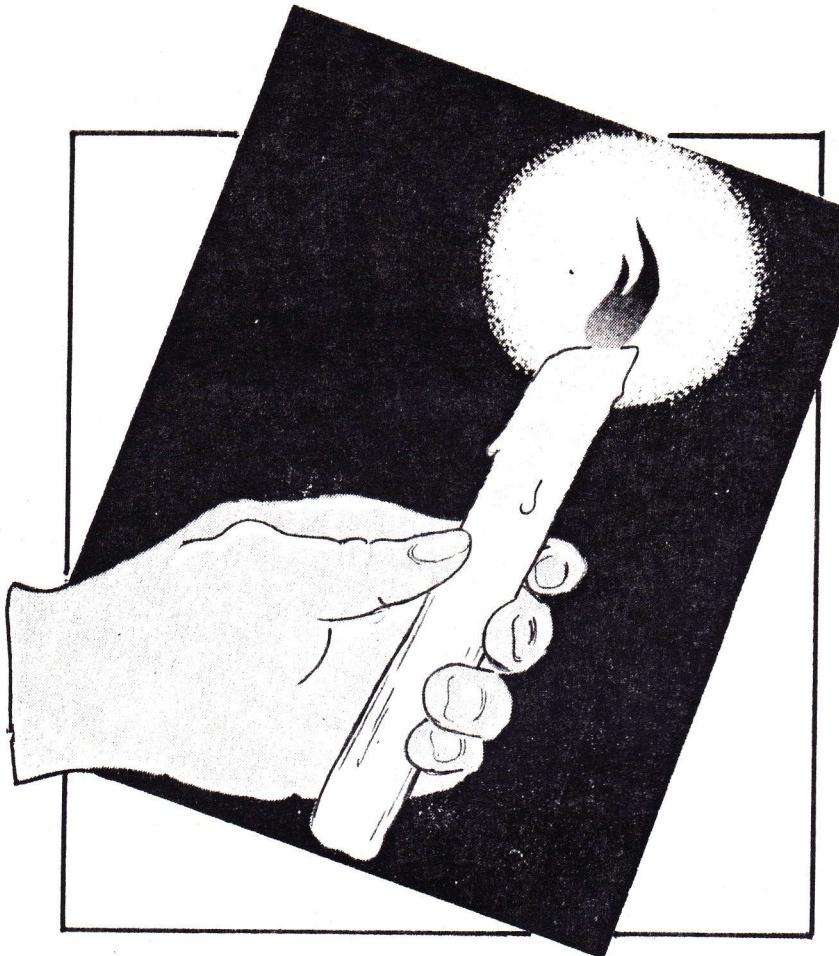


through any more pain or to wish it upon others in order to heal them. No individual has the right to such power.

The only other therapy I came across was the mention of 'ReEarthing' in a *Simply Living* article by John Seed. I experienced the same feelings as I did about the Council Of All Beings. One other point that disturbed me about that workshop was that it called itself a council of 'all' beings, and yet only human beings were present and what seemed even worse - human beings were given the right by the facilitator to speak on behalf of animals. I found this to be a perfect example of the anthropocentrism (human-centredness), that deep ecology views as the reason for the world's problems. Furthermore the workshops cost money to attend and have only been conducted in the richer countries of the world to my knowledge. This hardly seems to me to be encouraging equality.

It was encouraging and indeed inspirational for me to come across a brochure on Earth Education influenced by deep ecology that had been developed in the USA. However the price tag attached to any further information was such that my exploration of this 'therapy' could go no further at that time. I never called myself a deep ecologist. Had I not been invited to write an ecofeminism critique of deep ecology, perhaps my investigations of these movements would have ceased then and there.

How fortunate I am as now I realise that I was too quick to dismiss them both. They still had a great deal to teach me. It was only when I began research for the article did I realise that ecofeminism is 'not a monolithic, homogeneous ideology'. (Diamond and Orenstein) The title 'ecofeminism' I



find to be misrepresentational of the movement in its diversity. There are many branches of ecofeminists. I had investigated and outgrown but a couple of branches of the movement. This realisation came whilst reading the work of Ynestra King in another ecofeminist anthology *Reweaving the World*.

I agree that all oppression, inequality, hatred, greed and violence is interrelated and needs to be addressed. I can see that our society, the 'system' which is largely dominated by men, perpetuates these negativities however I am hesitant to say that men created this system and perpetuate it alone. To insinuate that women did not help to create this system, is in itself perpetuating inequality.

Furthermore, I can no longer believe in blaming anyone. Mistakes have no doubt been made by both sexes, I see no point in dwelling on them any longer, they have taught us and continue to teach us a great deal. I can no longer blame 'patriarchy' for the world's suffering. The 'system' which is dominated largely by men I feel I can hold responsible for perpetuating much suffering, yet I cannot judge them and say that is a wrong way of being. What is the system? Is it not simply a group of individuals learning? I hold no malice for them and can only send them love. Ecofeminists advocate a retelling of our past 'addressing history as well as mystery' resisting placing one above the other. In my own learning a reexamining of the past was necessary in order to break down the falsity of the learning I had experienced in my youth. However I cannot agree that the same is necessary for everyone.

History, science, politics, religion, art and education have all been dominated by men. Those that control the 'system' endeavour to control all of these fields. In this way they are used as tools to perpetuate the 'system'. The

retelling of history through women's eyes I believe to be important as long as it is not biased to favour women. One inequality does not balance out another.

I found that within the movement many ecofeminists, not all, seemed to be romanticising matriarchal culture and longing for its return. I cannot see the point in this. If matriarchal culture had been an ideal situation why did it evolve into another way of being? Similarly the cultures of indigenous people are often romanticised. I do not in any way condone the way in which indigenous people were and continue to be treated by their oppressors but there must be, in my opinion, some learning that was necessary, for the terrors they have experienced. It is beyond me to say what, neither am I alluding to any inequality of being. Simply that it is my belief that everything occurs for a reason and there is something to be learnt from every situation.

Ynestra King however is quick to point out that 'ecofeminism is not an argument for prehistory'. She writes, of ecofeminism - "We will fuse a new way of being human on this planet with a sense of the sacred, informed by all ways of knowing - intuitive and scientific, mystical and rational ... bridging the classic dualisms between spirit and matter, art and politics, reason and intuition."

Although King's branch of ecofeminism holds the 'white male' responsible for creating the world's problems, which I have already discussed as being outside of my beliefs, her commitment to go beyond duality and to create a new way of being are visions similar to my own.

"Through emphasis on anthropocentrism, the natural differences between humans and animals, humans and plants, may be overlooked"

Other ecofeminists have elaborated on how to create this new way. As ecofeminism is founded on celebrating diversity the new way is believed to be coming about through a diversity of activities - retelling, reframing, through art, ritual, social activism, communities, tree planting and through embracing all forms of life. (Diamond & Orenstein) I agree with ecofeminism that what is now necessary on this planet are new positive and creative expressions of being that celebrate the diversity of life.

Within *Reweaving the World* are two ecofeminist critiques of deep ecology. I learnt from reading them as they opened my eyes to new ways of seeing deep ecology, although I do not advocate criticism as a means of expressing myself. Criticism immediately places one above the other, one being right the other wrong. It perpetuates

inequality.

The further I delved into deep ecology the more I found that I did not agree with. Some of my views on deep ecology are similar to those of ecofeminists, others are not. Deep ecology, in its many various approaches, believes anthropocentrism (human-centredness) responsible for the world's ecological problems, it does not attempt to discuss any others. In my opinion, addressing only the ecological problems of this planet is addressing only one tiny part of the intricate system of life on earth. I believe that ecological problems are connected to social, economic, political and spiritual problems. I feel it is important to recognise the connections. To blame humanity for something in my opinion reflects an inability to accept our evolution. Anthropocentrism has led to environmental problems, that is not a bad thing or good thing. No judgment is necessary, it has already happened.

To say humanity created anthropocentrism is in itself anthropocentric.

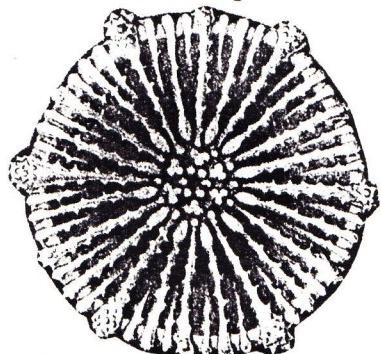
By placing so much emphasis on anthropocentrism, the natural differences between humans and animals, humans and plants, may become overlooked. I feel that although I am connected with every living being I am also a member of the human species which is different and apart from all species except my own. I do not place my species above any other.

"Unconditional love and acceptance is, in my opinion, stronger than any theory or practice"

Finally, as Marti Kheel points out 'the danger of an abstract identification with a larger "whole" is that it fails to recognise or respect the existence of independent, living beings.' The individual, be it a human, animal, plant, particle of soil or air or water is an aspect of the divine. Spirit-God-Tao is the thread that connects us all I believe and yet we have been created as individual beings, this is a miracle within itself and in my opinion should also be honoured. Diversity and relationship are crucial to harmonious being. Both ecofeminism and deep ecology seem to be advocating 'a consciousness of love' (Kheel) and yet are afraid to use these words.

I feel it is time that if we truly are concerned for the earth, for ourselves, for each other, for all that is, we find the courage to speak up for the power of unconditional love and acceptance which is, in my opinion, stronger than any theory or practice combined.

I chose to listen to this song and I chose also to sing it.



Talking Leaves is a journal of deep ecology, inspired personal activism rooted in earthen spirituality. Past issues have featured articles by Gary Snyder, Starhawk, John Seed, Joanna Macy, Bill Devall, Lone Wolf Circles, Barbara Mor, Winona LaDuke, etc.

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Action Is the antidote for despair

Monstrous Criticism of Bankenstein from All Sides

In July, social and environmental groups around the world conducted protests to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Recently, the Bank has also been the target of criticism from within. Willi Wapenhans, a former vice president of the Bank, says Bank's concessional lending arm is threatening to "pollute" the rest of the Bank and its technical assistance is "unimpressive". In addition, an internal review has found that poor auditing call into question the management of many of the projects the Bank finances.

In Britain:

On July 13, workers at the UK's Overseas Development Administration (ODA) found themselves being issued eviction notices by protesters drawing attention to the fact that the Bank has projects in the pipeline which will displace 2 million people worldwide in the next few years. ODA channels funds from UK taxpayers to the Bank.

Other protesters locked ODA's doors and constructed a dam out of sandbags to symbolize the cause of many of the evictions - large dam schemes. The protesters agreed to reopen the doors on condition that Mike Power, head of ODA's International Financial Institutions Department, discussed their grievances with them. In one of his many unsatisfactory responses, Power failed to give one example where the UK's Executive Director had voted against a project going ahead, implying a 'rubber stamp' role for the UK's representative.

In the afternoon, 20 protesters occupied the UK Administrative Office of the Bank. Several police vans, cars and motorcycles were soon on the scene. Some of the police officers were dressed in riot gear whilst others carried sledgehammers.

Inside the building, an "Unhappy Birthday" party was held to commemorate the Bank's fiftieth anniversary. Also, a mock Board Meeting was held which condemned past activities of the Bank and questioned its existence. Police arrested the demonstrators, among them Larry Lohmann, Nick Hildyard and Alex Wilks of *The Ecologist* magazine, George Marshall, Shelley Braithwaite and Kate Geary of Oxford EarthARC, and two journalists. They were later freed without charge.

In the USA:

World Bank staff in Washington were confronted by placard carrying activists who invited them to a nearby park to see a shanty-town. At the Edward Murrow Park, in the middle of the city blocks that house the Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and two blocks from the White House, activists had built a mock "town" of seven shanties built of cardboard and plywood and erected a huge sign read "Creating Poverty, Building Despair".

The Nicaragua-United States Friendship Office, who organised the shanty town, say it was intended to greet staff



World Bank protest in Sydney

with "a tangible reminder of how their institutions' policies further impoverish the poor in recipient countries".

On hand at the town were speakers from like Gopal Siwakoti from the Arun Concerned Group in Nepal, who is fighting plans to build a large dam in a cloud forest in the Himalayas and Lisa McGowan, of the Development GAP.

A number of Bank staff engaged the shanty town dwellers in discussion. "I wonder who's right?" mused the banker, who preferred not to be named. "I'm sure we don't have all the answers and that some of our projects have caused problems".

In another action, protesters draped a jumbo banner of Bankenstein, over the front of the World Bank's environment department as they sought to give the Bank a face. "No Dollars for Destruction", read the banner above the picture of a grim, green-faced likeness of Frankenstein's monster, his arms folded over pictures of power-plants and chain saws.

(3) How will the massive corruption in the tropical timber industry be confronted?

Corruption is driven by greed. If the government agencies that sanction the tropical timber industry believe that more money can be garnered from IPRs than from tropical timber, then the logging will stop. If the tropical timber industry has already secured legal rights to the timber tracts, then they should now be enfranchised with the IPRs so that preservation becomes more attractive than logging.

(4) What about landless peasants?

Privatisation as a conservation policy is not a program of land reform. Indeed, if land reform becomes a precondition to privatisation, then we might as well kiss biodiversity good bye. True land reform takes place over decades while extinction takes place over minutes. Eighty years ago, land reform was the *crie-de-guerre* in the Mexican revolution; today Mexican land holdings are more concentrated than ever and a new generation of Zapistas is demanding . . . land reform!

(5) Does Privatisation offer a solution to their problem?

Ever since Malthus, we have known that the amount of land is fixed but the capacity of people to reproduce is not. The greatest technical assistance the North can provide the South is family planning. Genesteading will not work unless there is family planning and incentives for small families. I make this explicit in my book. Unfortunately, this is an unwelcome message.

(6) Does Vogel seriously believe they can all become "genesteaders"?

Most landless peasants do not want land. They want economic opportunity. Because the pristine habitats are worth more as a genetic bank of IPRs than as pasture, privatisation will provide those opportunities. Some will come directly through genesteading but most will come indirectly through a general rise in export earnings.

In sum, I would like to say that resources do not exist, resources become. Technology defines resources. The engine made petroleum a resource and subsequently enhanced the export earnings of the Arab countries. Fission made uranium a resource and enhanced the export earnings of Australia and the US. Today, biotechnology is making biodiversity a resource. However, biotechnology will only enhance the export earnings of the tropical countries if biodiversity is recognised as a private resource like petroleum and uranium. Today biodiversity is "the common heritage of mankind" and those who control it reap nothing when it is commercialised in the emerging biotechnologies. This is both inefficient and iniquitous. *Genes for Sale* is an efficient, equitable alternative.

- Joseph Henry Vogel, PhD, Profesor Asociado, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Ulpiano Pérez 118 y Av. Patria, Casilla 17-11-06362, Quito, Ecuador email: joevogel@flacso.ecx.ec

In Australia:

In Sydney, the weekend of protest (July 22-24) kicked off with a public meeting and theatre extravaganza on the Friday night. Over 200 people packed into Glebe Town Hall for the 'Unhappy Birthday Party' hosted by a team of bankers and clowns. Shripad Dharmadikary of India's Narmada Bachao Andolan organisation, gave a powerful slide show on the situation in the Narmada Valley.

The main event of the weekend, the Beyond Bretton Woods Forum was attended by major Australian development and environment agencies, representatives of the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, the Department of Environment, politicians, Treasury and activists. The Forum was one of the few times such a diverse group has come together in Australia to discuss Bank and IMF issues.

On Monday, a team of activists scaled the heights of one of Sydney's well-known landmarks, the unfinished World Square, to hang massive banners with slogans such as "World Bank and IMF, Wasting Your Money, People and the Planet" and "World Bank/IMF Creates Poverty". The activists threw sixteen dummies from the high towers of the buildings. They represented the 1,600 people evicted by Bank projects every day. Police eventually stopped the event after half an hour. There were no arrests.

Wapenhans Criticism Twists Bank Lending Arm

The World Bank's concessional lending arm is threatening to "pollute" the rest of the Bank and its technical assistance is "unimpressive", says Willi Wapenhans, the author of a study that recently shook up the institution by showing that a third of its projects were failures.

Wapenhans, a former vice president of the Bank, became famous two years ago for his internal review of the Bank's lending operations for its 1800 ongoing projects. He concluded that over a third were failures by the Bank's own standards and that the number had risen sharply in recent years. His latest paper formed the basis of a two-day conference marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of the IMF, and its sister institution, the World Bank in July 1944.

Many of the proposals Wapenhans's makes in his paper will find favour with environmental and social activists who used the original Wapenhans report as evidence to berate the Bank with. But they will not be happy that he has also taken an opportunity to criticise one of their proposals - an independent review team to assess the Bank's faults.

Another internal Bank review, to be published next month, reveals that poor auditing standards at the Bank call into question the management of many of the projects it finances. A leaked copy of the review says over 60% of the audits of Bank projects are received late, making them "inconsequential for project management purposes". The review is the work of the Financial Reporting and Auditing Task Force.

The task force discovered that the Bank receives less than 40% of the audits within the grace period of four to nine months after every fiscal year. And while more than 90% of the reports are received within two years, 7% are not received at all.

World Roundup

Fox and Movieland Drop Lauan

Fox Studios and MCA/Universal are the latest Hollywood studios to green their act and stop using lauan tropical hardwood to build movie sets. Lauan or meranti is native to Indonesia and Malaysia. Hollywood likes lauan plywood because of its light weight, smooth finish, and flexibility. The entertainment industry has been a major consumer of the wood, which it uses once and then throws away.

MCA/Universal sent the US Rainforest Action Network a copy of their internal memo announcing lauan will no longer be available through the studio lumberyard. Instead, Universal will use Unicore board, which is made from 100% post-consumer recycled waste. The memo notes Unicore is also 10-15% less expensive than lauan.

Before RAN and other environmentalists began campaigning against this needless destruction of Southeast Asia's rainforests, the L.A. entertainment industry used a quarter of a million lauan plywood sheets a year.

Paramount has already agreed to stop using lauan. Disney and Warner Bros. have greatly reduced their consumption. Lisa Rawlins, a Warner vice-president, says Batman III will be the studio's first lauan-free feature film.

Sony's winter newsletter reported the studio is phasing out lauan use, but executives have not given us a formal response.

Fox Studios also sent RAN a copy of an internal memo: "Let's move forward by eliminating future orders of lauan through stores inventory". The memo is from Gary Erlich, a Fox VP, in response to a proposal from Gretchen Lewotsky, Executive Director, Environmental Operations.

RAN applauded Fox for taking this step to phase out lauan use. Fox says it will use up its current lauan supply, then switch to Roseburg plywood and continue to test alternatives. Source: Rainforest Action Network, 450 Sansome St., Ste 700, San Francisco, CA, 94111, U.S.A. E-mail: rainforest@igc.apc.org



Temperate Forests Outside ITTA

Efforts to expand the scope of the International Tropical Timber Agreement (ITTA) to include sustainable management of timber from temperate and boreal sources by the year 2000 has failed. The final negotiations for a successor agreement to the ITTA took place in January and delegates from temperate consumer countries resisted pressure to include their forests under the terms of the Agreement and instead expressed their intentions to manage them sustainably by the year 2000 outside the ITTO form. Source: Traffic Bulletin



Protection Possible for Vanuatu Forest

The Big Bay Forest on the island of Santo may become Vanuatu's first formally protected area. It is the largest remaining area of intact, continuous lowland coastal forest in the country and is threatened by logging. The local landowning families are interested in protecting the forest, which provides valuable resources - but they also need money. For the time being, they have rejected the logging proposal while conservationists develop alternative means of generating income from the forest. Source: Forest & Bird

Community Protects Andean Forest

The Colombian Government has established a 10,000 ha. forest reserve at Virolin, on the western slope of the eastern Andes. The area harbours some 2500 bird and 100 mammal species. The Guanenta Alta-Rio Fonce Fauna and Flora Sanctuary is the first protected area in the country to be designated as a result of community participatory process. Source: World Birdwatch



Debt-for-Logs Swap!

In a bizarre reversal of the debt-for-nature swaps of the late 1980's, under which the debt of developing countries was cancelled in return for agreements to protect forests, France has agreed to cancel part of the debt it is owed by Cameroon in return for French being given almost exclusive access to Cameroon's forests. France will cancel a further part of the debt if Cameroon agrees to double the amount of forest available for logging by non-state companies. Cameroon has some 220,000 sq km of forest, roughly half of what it had a few decades ago. Much of the country's south-eastern forests remain intact, but a Tropical Forestry Action Plan drawn up by the Cameroon Government with UN agencies in 1990, set a target that would turn the country into Africa's biggest exporter of timber by the year 2000. The plan involves building roads into the remote south-east. Source: New Scientist



New Park for Congo

The Republic of the Congo has adopted a decree designating nearly 4050 sq km in the north as Nouabale-Ndoki National Park. The rainforest is rich in wildlife and, it is claimed, has no human residents. To date, there has been very little human activity there, but logging intensified on surrounding lands during the mid-1980's. The park adjoins the Central Africa Republic's Dzanga-Ndoki National Park (designated in 1990) and a large forested region, Lobéke, in Cameroon, which is being considered for protection. Source: Wildlife Update



'Logging' Agreement to Save Forest

Aopo Village, on the island of Savai'i in Western Samoa, is the site of a unique experiment to save a part of the endangered cloud forests of Western Samoa. The Western Samoan environmental NGO, O Le Siosiomaga Society, or OLSS, now has exclusive rights to log a six-square mile area of the Aopo cloud forest for the next 20 years. On 16 April, OLSS presented a cheque for WS\$112,000 (US\$42,600) to the village as part of an agreement signed earlier this year.

The money for the agreement was provided by the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation in a separate agreement with OLSS. In return, OLSS undertakes not to use the logging rights, and Aopo village is committed to using the money in ways which will not degrade the environment.

In fact, OLSS has no intention of logging the cloud forest. This

logging agreement aims to pre-empt individuals, Aopo village or any others from logging or removing dead or live trees from the area for the duration of the Agreement.

The Aopo cloud forest currently contains a range of rare, indigenous tree species. It could also become a refuge for birds and other animals as they are forced from lowland coastal forests because of logging, spreading plantations and the recent cyclones. Both conservation societies involved consider that conserving the forest is essential for maintaining Samoa's biodiversity.

The local member of parliament for Aopo and Minister for Women's Affairs, Hon. Polataivao Fosi, supported OLSS's effort to protect the forest, and was recently commended by the Society for his assistance. Source: South Pacific Environment Programme Newsletter



Tortured Berawans Discharged But Not Acquitted

Willie Kajan, Solonon Malang and Gary Hassim were recently discharged by the Judge of the Miri Session Court. They have been accused of setting fire to two generators and a dwelling at a tourist resort in the Mulu National Park. The particular area is the subject of a land dispute - the Berawan People claim custodianship of an area which includes the resort. Willie claims he was hit in the belly and cheek, pushed against walls, kicked in the legs and repeatedly forced to do push-ups and otherwise harassed during his marathon interrogation at the Miri Police Station. He was subsequently admitted to hospital and was also examined at two local medical clinics. His medical reports were produced in court, to the apparent consternation of police and judiciary. Source: Panchar Penemu



El Nino Effect May Last Decades

A major change in water temperature in the Pacific Ocean in 1982 could account for violent rainstorms that caused the Mississippi to flood last year, and may influence global weather for a decade to come, say researchers.

The oceanographic phenomenon known as El Nino, where a rise in sea-surface temperatures occurs every two to three years in the equatorial Pacific off South America, is known to affect local climate.

More recent research has shown that El Nino can have wider effects - by producing atmospheric changes that can cause temporary drought in the Sahel in Africa or a rainfall shortage affecting the maize harvest in Zimbabwe.

Atmospheric changes such as these are, however, short-lived. Now researchers are suggesting a big El Nino can produce changes in ocean patterns that may last decades.

Mr Greg Jacobs and his colleagues say in the scientific journal *Nature* that the 1982 El Nino generated a wave that hit the coast of the Americas and was reflected back across the Pacific, altering currents off Japan 10 years later.

The 1982 El Nino was the strongest of the century, having dramatic effects on the circulation of the tropical Pacific Ocean, including the collapse of trade winds. It changed sea temperatures and killed vast quantities of marine and bird life along the west coast of North America.

Dr Jacobs, from the Naval Research Laboratory at the Stennis Space Centre, Mississippi, has built computer models, feeding satellite information about sea temperatures and wave heights, to

show that this giant wave is still rolling across the Pacific. Previously, it had been thought such waves, known as Rossby waves, simply disappeared in mid-ocean and had no effect in northern latitudes.

Source: The Guardian

Indo's Muscle-In on Big Timber Firm

The Indonesian Government shook the corporate sector recently by announcing that it wanted nearly half of Barito Pacific, one of the world's biggest plywood producers, in exchange for renewing 20-year forest concessions covering an area bigger than Switzerland. Indo Forestry Minister, Soeryohadikusumo said Projogo Pangestu, an ethnic Chinese businessmazn who controls Barito Pacific, had not yet agreed to the government proposal. Barito apparently has a very poor forestry conservation record, has previously run-up huge debts, treats its workers poorly and was apparently very cosy with the bureaucrats when it came to floating the company on the stock exchange.

One foreign investment analyst based in Jakarta said it was worrying that the Government was trying to take away a publicly-listed companies assets for not complying with the rules. A major Indonesian corporate executive wondered what was to prevent the Government from doing a similar thing to other companies. The Government wants to install a State official as managing director if Barito 'accepts'.

The Indonesian Government is currently attempting to stop illegal logging in what are some of the world's biggest tropical forests outside of Brazil. The World Bank said recently that logging in Indonesia's tropical forests were running at 50 percent higher than estimated sustainable cuts. The indonesian Government is attempting to reduce timber harvests by nearly one-third over the next 5 years. Source: (Adapted from a report by) REUTERS



RIC-Ecuador Sponsors Ethical Tourism

The Rainforest Information Centre in Ecuador (a sister organisation to RIC in Lismore, Australia) is currently running a range of Eco Tours in that country. Their aim is to give the discerning traveller a measure of awareness of the rare beauty and diversity of the country and impart knowledge of the culture of its inhabitants and, show the outside world how the pressures of modern 'civilization' are impacting upon their lives..... By so doing, it is hoped that the Tour Guides and Hosts can live on an ethically-derived income.

RIC cameraman and Earth Reporter, Dean Jefferys, is based in the country for the next six months, finishing a television documentary on RIC Ecuador and its activities. As well, he is accompanying the locals as they scout-out further suitable locations for Eco Tours. Dean is adamant that it is the local people's strong desire to encourage eco-tourism in their region which has prompted RIC Ecuador to sponsor and promote them. In his documentary, he will include footage of interviews with local people about how tourism and interaction with other cultures is affecting their lives.

Presently, the Tours can include one or all of the following:

* Botanical and wildlife studies in the 6,400 hectare cloud forests of the Los Cedros Biological Reserve.

* Exploration of a 54,000 hectare reserve surrounding the Lake Panicotcha Wetlands system - the breeding ground for the rare Pink Amazon Dolphin.

* A stay with a Quechua Indian family, the Mummilluctas. Cassimirro Mummillucta comes from a long line of Shamans, who, for many generations, have been guardians of the sacred Galeras Mountain.

* A journey deep into Wild Amazonia to meet and live with

members of the Huaorani Indian Tribe. The Huaorani have only established peaceful contact with the outside world in the last 30 years. Their culture and way of life is already at risk of total disintegration. RIC Ecuador is helping the Huaorani to regain more control over their destiny. One aspect of this process is Eco Tours, with the Huaorani acting as guides.

Picture yourself listening to the Tribal People chanting by campfire light, observing hunters stalking prey with blowpipes, or being a part of traditional village life; imagine seeing an amazing array of animals in the wild, including monkeys, piranha, turtles, panther (tracks!), tapir, brilliant and exotic birds, snakes, crocodiles and much more; place yourself deep in the rainforest or in the rarefied atmosphere of the Andean Cloud Forests.....All this you can do, not so much as a gawking stranger, but as a companion of the people who have lived there for countless generations - people who understand and honour the country in which they live and make their living.

The main difference between RIC's Eco Tours and other eco-tourism ventures, is that ALL revenue raised is channelled back into programs of protection of the local rainforest and environment, and sustenance and safeguarding of the Indigenous People and their culture.

Further info: RIC - Ecuador (see p.31 for address) or, for Australian readers, Phoenix Howearth, ph: (07) 821 3512; fx: (07) 207 6088



N.V.A. - Amazon Style

Empate, or "stand-off", is the strategy of non-violent resistance to deforestation developed by the rubber tappers' movement in the Brazilian Amazon. Groups of up to 200 unarmed people, including women and children, lay their bodies in front of bulldozers and chainsaws, in an attempt to convince paid workers to stop cutting the trees. Since the 70's, the rubber tappers have used this strategy with rubber Barons, loggers and ranchers to protect their homelands. The *empate* has been instrumental in securing over 3 million acres of forest for existing and planned Extractive Reserves - in which sustainable economic activities such as small-scale rubber-tapping are allowed, and destructive activities such as ranching and logging are barred.

Although native peoples have used similar tactics for centuries, the *empates* as such were first used in Acre, Western Amazon in 1976. Led by rubber tapper activist Wilson Pinheiro, the *empate* gave the peoples of the forest the strength that comes from meeting one's enemies armed only with ideas of justice. It served as a catalyst for dialogue and an organizing principle among rubber tappers and Indians, eventually resulting in the Alliance of the Peoples of the Forest - and the proposal for Extractive Reserves, presented to the world as an alternative model of development for the Amazon by rubber tapper leader Chico Mendes in Brasilia in 1985. The political process which began with the *empates* ultimately brought the rubber tappers into the international environmental arena. Chico Mendes, by then an internationally respected environmental and union leader, was murdered at his home in Acre on December 22, 1988. The ideas he stood for are not forgotten. Extractive Reserves have been established, rubber tappers and other peoples of the forest have joined the international discussion on the future of the Amazon, and the *empates* continue..

An Eye for an Eye for a Virus from a Rainforest

Scientists now believe that HIV, the virus which causes AIDS, is a product of rainforest destruction. Far worse may be in store. It is now thought that the HIV virus emerged from the rainforests of Central Africa - Zaire or Kenya - perhaps from chimpanzees, its natural host. It mutated and infected humans when men hunting monkeys for research purposes came into contact with monkey blood or bloodied tissue. As more outsiders came into the half-destroyed jungle, the virus entered the general human population.

Some 10 million individuals are now infected with HIV, and this will increase to 40 million by the year 2000. The emergence of AIDS appears to be a consequence of the destruction of the tropical biosphere. Unknown viruses are coming out of the equatorial wilderness and discovering human beings. The process has been called "the revenge of the rainforest".

The rainforest, being by far the largest reservoir of plants and animal species, will also be the largest reservoir of viruses. There may be 100 million virus strains. As the stable ecosystem is destroyed, opportunities are created for mutated viruses to spread in unpredictable ways. Far from the HIV virus being a unique phenomenon, it may be a fairly common event in the future. A rainforest virus might sweep the world and possibly annihilate the human race. Viruses can mutate rapidly by just one change in their DNA sequence; they may retain their infectivity but the host (you and me) loses any immunity from previous exposure. This is what happens with the common influenza virus: humans carry more than 100 different flu viruses but continually succumb to new infections.

A virus far more potent than HIV did break out in Zaire. Called the Ebola Zaire virus, it erupted simultaneously in 55 villages, killing 90% of contactees. They died an excruciatingly painful and traumatic death, being unable to develop antibodies for it - it seemed to crush the immune system entirely. Eventually tribal elders were placing sufferers in grass huts and pushing food and water under the door. If the person did not emerge, the hut was burned to the ground. When all victims were finally isolated, the epidemic began to wane. A similarly virulent epidemic began in Reston, Virginia, after 27 wild Philippino Macaque monkeys died in quarantine. Authorities feared the worst, but it seemed the virus was a mutated form which did not affect humans. This virus infected humans before it was identified - a close shave for those in contact with it.

The US Institute of Medicine recently released a report, 2 years in preparation, which said that not only emerging viruses, but also mutant bacteria strains that cause drug-resistant TB, and protozoa such as mutant strains of malaria, have become major and growing threats to the population. "We can be confident that new diseases will emerge, although it is impossible to predict their individual emergence in time and place."

The report finds a general breakdown in the public health system in the US at the very time when a 'monster' could appear. The event in Reston, Virginia frightened a lot of epidemiologists.

There has been some debate recently among scientists about whether the HIV virus could mutate into an airborne disease like flu. This 'AIDS-flu' would circle the globe in a flash. There is no reason in principle why HIV couldn't spread by a respiratory route; the question is whether the virus, in mutating to a flu-like form would remain fatal. But if one in three people on Earth died, as happened in Europe with the Black Death in the 15th century, social organisation would break down.

Dear Rich Countries,

BiSS Off!

In language much more polite than our headline suggests, representatives from seven of the world's poorest peoples asked seven of the world's richest nations to stop their interference and exploitation. "Leave us to confront ourselves and face our own cultural values".

The call came at this year's TOES (The Other Economic Summit) in a resolution presented by the mayor of Naples, Antonio Kassolino, to the G7 leaders who in July held their annual summit in his city. The G7 is made up of Germany, Japan, USA, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Canada.

Once again, TOES has been run as a parallel event to the G7 economic summit. TOES has met alongside the G7 every year since 1984 to stress views and values very different to the orthodoxy of the G7 conferences. TOES was founded out of concern about the blindness of a 'summit of the rich' to world poverty and the environment.

This year, TOES has claimed that many of the promises made at the Rio Earth Summit have been abandoned by the G7 leaders and that the majority of the world's rural poor will lose their livelihoods as a result of tradeoffs of GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

CHARTER OF THE SEVEN POOREST

To: President Francois Mitterrand (France)

President Bill Clinton (USA)

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (Germany)

Prime Minister John Major (UK)

Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama (Japan)

Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi (Italy)

Premier Jean Chretien (Canada)

From: Manuel Nunez Sanchez (Chiapas, Mexico)

Ana de Souza Pinto (Commission of Landless, Brazil)

Satinath Sarangi (Committee of Victims, Bhopal, India)

Alvaro Tombe (Peasant, Colombia)

Edison Casadore (Apache, USA)

Vermati Heera (South Africa)

Mohamed Aden (ex Minister of Health, Somalia)

This is a charter delivered in July to the leaders of the seven leading economic nations of the world as they met in Naples, Italy, for their annual conference called the G7 Summit. President Yeltsin also attended the non-economic sections of the summit. The charter was written by representatives of the seven poorest peoples of the world.

The charter was sent to us by The New Economics Foundation in the United Kingdom which was among the

coordinators of this year's TOES (The Other Economic Summit) which meets alongside the G7 every year to shed light on the issues of poverty and environmental degradation to which the G7 appear blind or at the least apathetic.

"They call us the poorest of the world. The smallest of the world. Your numerous experts will tell you that we are neither small nor poor by divine will. We come from the oldest and largest continents of the world. Even though for more than 500 years you have plundered our resources, our continents are still rich. And our populations who underwent for more than 500 years all kinds of slavery, genocide, colonization, forced labour, temptations and rejections of assimilation are still vital and we do not renounce the repossession of our future.

In your master designs, you always reserved brutal surprises. You have always considered us as functional entities to your own technological growth and to the accumulation of wealth by your industries and corporations. It is true we had a moment of euphoria, immediately after the Second World War. You have talked about a 'New World Order'; you were not scandalized by our fight to free ourselves from your yoke and tutelage. Yet you have instituted new interstate organisations and coined new slogans. These were based on a world humanism in which the relationships of equality between nations and their rights to exist and to circulate were guaranteed and assured.

But our independence has only deepened our dependence. Many of our leaders and governors had or have become your offspring. Our state of being subjects, straight forward and visible, is mediated by a myriad of international structures which have contents and use languages understandable only to you: World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations, GATT, foreign aid, Lome 1,2,3,...5, balance of payments, civil registry, statistics, GNP, primary commodities, cartels, financial markets, strong and weak currencies, Third World Debt, sustainable development, and structural readjustments.

These are pieces of a mosaic designed to strangle whole populations and continents, which did not understand to be in a deadly war. Technological transfers have resulted in hundreds of Bhopals (in the centre of India one of the greatest disasters of our age with thousands of dead and incalculable consequences for the survivors). The corporation and speculation and financial transfers whose only traces are found in the various inquiries of Tangentopoli currently being investigated everywhere within your administrations. Every kind of protest against this state of being from our people has been suffocated in blood. Why, we ask,

for your own benefit have you been generous on two fronts: imposing and sustaining violent dictatorships in our countries and in furnishing them arms and training. The result is under everybody's eyes: Rwanda, Somalia, Cambodia, Liberia, Haiti, Guatemala. These are among the many countries which are armed or aided to be armed by your governments and your war industries.

Others, like Mexico, Brazil and Colombia, are enslaved to the aggression of your corporations and don't have anything to offer to their populations except misery and death. We are thinking of the Amazon populations; to the children of Rio; to the fight for survival of indigenous people of Chiapas and to the indigenous peoples and farmers of Colombia eradicated and massacred with the justification of a war against drug traffic - all this with your silent approval. And while the many dictators use these arms against their own populations, you sustain them politically and financially.

In the meantime, because of your fierce race towards an impossible and unilateral development, you are subtracting and destroying what for us is eternal and inalienable: oxygen, the forest, the ozone layer.

With your contorted and unnatural energy policies, with your technologies based on the indiscriminate use of fossil fuels and nuclear fission, instead of natural and renewable resources you are destroying the planet without our consent and even less with our collaboration. And all this so that some layers of your population should have more wealth, which means more refrigerators, second homes, and a bigger yacht.

We are not professional politicians; and neither are we a group of extremists if this should worry you. However, even in our situation of marginalization towards information and of the big disputes of your societies, we know that you do not represent the interests of the totality of your citizens. We know the heterogeneity of treatment reserved to different classes where the weakest pay a higher toll for that form of development. The indigenous populations of the Americas, the terrible conditions in which immigrants are systematically kept, sometimes even ignored by the laws of the nation-state and removed from the conscience of the host population, the semi-permanent unemployment in which a grand part of the workers in your countries live, give testimony of your tragic impotence and subjection to transnational capital. However, even knowing that many times you are impermeable to innovative discourses, we come to you and through you to the people you say to represent.

Eminent scholars belonging to your hemisphere, but not to your culture, warn us that there shall never be a possibility of peace or of reconciliation between the wolf and the lamb.

We want again to run a risk, because we do not carry hate and we do not believe in the inevitable end of humankind as a consequence of the fight over available natural resources. We are deeply convinced that the reality of things is different. But you are here even to confuse us and the better part of your co-citizens. What remains true is that we have arrived at a dangerous breaking point and the options that remain for us are necessarily only to:

1. Keep your wealth. Enjoy your consumer civilization. Withdraw completely your interest, companies, investment, tourist resorts, and good humanitarian intentions from our countries. Leave us to confront ourselves and face

our own cultural values. Leave us to pursue our own indigenous road of self-development. It shall be hard and long. But it will be our own choices to determine it. And we will never find ourselves worse off than we are today.

2. We realize that in the passing of centuries you have built networks of relationships and power around the world and mistake officiality for substance and in as

much governments are worth more than the people.

3. We beg you to be more humble; let the people come out of their egotistical shells, from their nationalisms and localisms. None of our people want to subtract from you your material wealth. Your lament of the morass of unemployment and uncertainty of your future can find a certain escape only if you accept a great and humane project for development worked out in common.

4. Let us build together a civilization of planetary conviviality where solidarity has sense and concreteness, where collaboration is the central object of everybody, and where justice, equality, and improvement of the quality of life are not concessions but aspirations and rights of everybody, regulated by certain international norms.

5. You, perhaps, do not need our good wishes, but this is equally a great opportunity to get closer to your people and to express to them through you, the sentiments of ours.

6. We would like here to thank all the friends and organizations that have mobilized themselves around the coordinated 'The Other Economic Summit', the citizens of Naples for their brotherly hospitality, the forgotten immigrants of Villa Literno, the citizenship of Sessa Aurunca, of Casal di Principe, of Caserta and of Pomigliano.

"To all these new friends, we say and wish that your goodwill will be of help to the mutual understanding between our people."

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Please give generously

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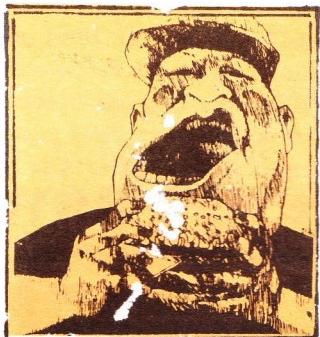
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